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Weekly Organ of 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. 54 WHOLE NO. 2011

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1933

PRICE 2 CENTS

Biased Judge Rushes Negro Boys to Chair

No Reliance on Capitalist Justice; Only Mass Pressure of Workers Can Save Scottsboro Boys

ment of mass demonstrations.

When the workers put a pressure

(Continued on Page 4)

Misled by Right

Wing in L.A.

Los Angeles.—The Los Angeles

iressmakers' strike has passed into

history. Once more the reaction-

ist leadership have caused a mili-

tant uprising of workers to become

Los Angeles is notoriously an

open shop town with very few un-

ions and those, poorly organized.

The International Ladies' Garment

to the rule. The only membership

they nad was in the cloakmakers'

section and that group was led by

eactionary right-wing and Social-

Coincident to the organization of

zation of the dressmakers. The

Leaders Oppose Strike

Only two days before the strike

was called, Feinberg and Pesotta

presented to the strike committee

on agreement with an open shop

(Continued on page 4)

demands.

discontented and disorganized.

Heywood Patterson guilty of the version of St. Joseph. Priests can upset the conference if they are this only for the sake of bargain sued a statement on November the rape of Victoria Price, locally not-approve it with undisturbed con-thrown open for discussion on the ing power and compromise with 9th, which said in part: "Unsettled orious prostitute, and condemned sciences. Editors can congratulate floor. This is the first Pan-Ameri- American Imperialism. It is very conditions, such as European comhim to death. The capitalist beast the nation on the triumph of law can conference to be held since doubtful if the voice of the oppress- mercial quota restrictions, make it is determined not to give up its and justice. The pious, the patrio- 1928. It is convened at a time prey. The wheels of justice are tic, the reformers can all sleep when the economic life of Latinget a word into the proceedings. Les to forego immediate discussions moving now with greater speed easier. Capitalism can breathe more America is almost at a standstill What opposition does materialize on such matters as currency stabilthan they did last April at the last freely. trial, almost as fast as the San Jose and St. Joseph lynch mobs did, and Clarence Norris is standing trial a second time for the same "crime" By the time this reaches the press courts. It ought to burn the lesthe verdict will be in and the trial son home that only the workers of the third or maybe even the can get the boys off; only the workfourth Scottsboro boy will be over. ers organized in a powerful move-

The jury which tried Patterson and the juries which will try the on the capitalists by protest deother defendants are supposed to monstrations the judicial fossils will be made up of impartial men who discover that any number of laws have no fixed ideas about the in- and statutes and decisions have nocence or guilt of the boys. They been violated, by Callahan, by the are all white men, and if you wish governor, by the president, by god you can believe that they have no himself. That is the way the boys prejudices against other men just can be saved from death. That is because their skins are black. These jurymen are all local residents in a none-too-numerous community where the Scottsboro case has been the subject of discussion for years. the subject of discussion for years.

How many sat in the courtroom Needle Workers during the previous trials? Leastways we are asked to believe that these men heard a good deal of argument on the case, participated in it. read the editorials in the Southern papers urging them to "lynch the damned niggers", and still have open minds. One has to be as simple and trusting as a child to believe this fairy tale out of the capitalist propaganda book. These men are all set against the Scotts- ary policies of a class-collaborationboro boys no matter what they say they believe or don't believe.

If there was one among them who had any lingering doubt, the way Judge Callahan ran the trial would have removed it. Callahan was fair. He gave the defense its day in court. Sure, he didn't allow the Jew lawyers from New York to play tricks on the court. He defended

Southern womanhood. Yes, sir. Cards Dealt from the Bottom

There isn't a white farmer in ist leaders. The dressmakers had. the neighborhood who could have perhaps, a 10% membership. held his opinion of Patterson's innocence against the bias of the upright justice's charge to the jury and his bewildering judical hairand his bewindering judical splittings. Callahan dealt splittings. Callahan from the bottom of the deck. That's the ranks of the cloakmakers' bewhat he is there for.

Catlahan does his job There's nothing raw like the stuff! Horton pulled and the speeches pro- turn. The agitation for a com- can country. secutors Knight and Wright made plete organization of the cloaksecutors Kingat and Wright made in the last trial. It's all strictly makers became less veiled, less cussed extensively in the different cannon also spoke at this meetaccording to Hoyle. Callahan is carrying out the order of the Supreme Court to do it over again and

cut out the mistakes. Callahan made one serious slip. In his charge to the jury which ganized strength. At the meeting to inject America's "good will" into presenting the argument for the date of the case at the NKK hearmilitantly demonstrated their orground. Secretary Hull attempted ing. They took the leadership in
ity in the Western Hemisphere. consumed an hour and a half of Patterson's life he FORGOT to remind the jury that if they found the evidence insufficient to prove the charge against Patterson they could bring in a verdict of acquittal. Strange omission! Convenient memory! Only when reminded by the defense counsel and the prosecutor did he perfunctorily add this the cloak-makers, came the organi-

That slip gave the whole show difference in the organization of away. What of that? Bias is no the two groups lay in the fact that ground for acquittal in the higher the cloakmakers were, in the main, courts. The learned justices do not old time union members, with a arrive at their decisions by obvious Left wing militant for their manfacts and simple considerations ager, and the dressmakers were For them the question is not whe composed of inexperienced elements ther Callahan showed bias. They who had never before belonged to will take out their legal yardstick a union and were represented by I. and see whether what Callahan Feinberg, a class-collaborationist there have been a good many insaid or did denied the defendant, politician; Rose Posotta, an anarch- dicutions of a hearty response from who is presumed innocent until proven guilty, a fair trial by violat- Paul Berg, a Lovestoneite who is come to our greetings in much ing this statute or that law or is an opportunist and a hypocrite and greater numbers than before. Seri not in accord with the decision of H. Scott, a reactionary Right wing ous questions, asked sympatheticaljudge so-and-so in this-and-that er—all of whom worked with the ly, manifest their live interest in case. You can be as lunatic on the greatest unanimity before and dur- the issue. The response is reflect bench as Rolph of California is in ing the strike. the governor's chair, but if you Two days after the cloakma want, your stuff to go over with the walk-out, a dressmakers' mass boys higher up you have got to meeting was held where similar demake it appear that you are stick- mands were put forward and a ing within the law. If you do they general strike called for. will give you the official o. k.

Learned from Massachusetts

And whoever heard of a high leadership to postpone and delay court saying straight out: the man the strike. Every means was reis innocent, release him? Where sorted to in an effort to settle it and when did that happen? In the peacefully at conferences and with Mooney case? In the Sacco-Van-the NRA officials. Conference after zetti case? Where? When? The conference was held to delay the cards are stacked against the boys strike, until almost the entire workall the way up the line.

The strategy of the capitalists is of the season, the leadership was plain. They want to give the coun-afraid of a strike. When they did "fine lesson". "In call the strike, the season was prac-California", they want to say, "and tically over Of their own accord, in Maryland they do it with the they did not call a strike Ostensirope and the faggot; but in Ala-bly, they prepared the strike mech-that all the programs will be test bama they are civilized. There anism while really they maneuverthey burn innocent men in the elec- ed to prevent it tric chair according to the law. But first they torture them in jail for years, holding out a ray of hope to them and snatching it away again. They learned that from clause Openly, to the members of what Massachusetts did to Sacco

and Vanzetti." Between St. Joseph, Mo., and

American Imperialism at the Montivideo Congress

retary Hull, arrived prior to the lialist domination. as a result of the crisis within the The Meaning of "Justice"

Scottsboro should open the eyes the last doubting (Pharman Property of the Last doubting (Pharman Property of the Crisis within the leading imperialist nations, particularly the United States. These Scottsboro should open the eyes of the last doubting Thomas to the meaning of justice in capitalist subordinated to the imperialist subordinated to the imperialist powers. The leading capitalist nations, such as the United States

> tions of Latin America. The conference has been compar ed to the last London conference The capitalist press says the Mon tevideo meeting will succeed and center of the stage at the Pan-Am-

have attempted to shift part of the

rican conference. At Montevideo there will be a capitalist nation in the world is able to hold a conference with 20 other nations under the self-made urisdiction of the Monroe Doctrine the enforcement of which Roosevelt hopes to modernize with his imperialists of Europe and America; the Montevideo conference is the set-up of American imperialism. Most of the delegates are puppets; others will be forced to cringe before the might of Yankee imperialism or stand the consequences. The out any reason at all. itself, England will do this primcan muster within the Latin Amer-

Latin American country. In the past, Argentina has been Beginning of Organization Drive the main opposition force to the

secretive, more effective. The cloak- caucusses. Bolivia and Paraguay ing. ganized strength. At the meeting to inject America's "good will" into presenting the argument for the ity in the Western Hemisphere. of the cloakmakers, a series of de-the Chaco War before the confer- workers, all the other unions remands were presented and unanimously adopted, followed by the "kind" offer. A labor delegate taking up our demands.

War before the conterence is only two days workers, all the other unions remainder the conterence is only two days presented except the A. F. of L. old. Although it is America's settaking up our demands. day he condemned American's 15 their representatives. -A. C.

The Seventh Pan-American Con-year military action in Haiti, in-perialism and of spokesmen for erence convened December 3 at tervention in Latin America, and British imperialism. Montevideo, Uruguay with twenty-Haiti which reveals how the Roose-

For the third time in three yearsScottsboro is a legal difficult problems that are sure to ment will go beyond words, and Pound. The U. S. Government ised workers and peasants will even seem desirable for the United Stawill be that of the nationalist bourgeois opposition to American im-

Shows Gains

New York.-The waiters at the Hotel Montclaid, have gone out on strike under the leadership of the be done to use these debts as clubs the London conference failed to ac- Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Un- to line the countries up for furcomplish for world capitalism. How-ion, branch of the Amalgamated ther economic penetration by Amary the control to the second the second that is when the control to the second that is when the second that is the second that is when the second that is the s ever, the set-up is entirely different Food Workers. The strike is against of the Wall Street government hope even if economic problems hold the the wage scale of 64 cents a day for to accomplish. America as the 9 hours forced on the waiters by creditor, facing this condition, is the management after the new opposed to debt discussion; many At Montevideo there will be a hotel code went into effect. The of the debtors, on the other hand meeting of unequals. The leading workers demand \$12.50 a week, no arbitrary firing, no splitting of tips

uniforms clean, and decent food. New York .- Last week we reported the new orientation of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union orference was a battle of the leading ganization drive. Already, the thing is certain. The conference is workers of the Union understand an American Imperialist set-up for that they can expect very little the benefit of American imperialism. from the NRA, and that only the To strip the issues bare, the U. S Union is in a position through its imperialists are primarily interested strength to put back to work the in the following, from an economic workers that were discharged with- standpoint: To strengthen their

The huge new headquarters of larly, England are forced to pound our Union facilitates much of its other imperialists. To arrange longaway within the conference in an activities. Shop meetings of hotels, term credits for private and public attempt to prevent America from restaurants and clubs take place projects, which will enable Amerconstructing something tangible for every week at which the problems of the Union are discussed and Workers' Union was no exception arily through such forces as she decided. The joining of belboys, housemen, chambermaids, elevator to use these projects to further conican countries for policies that will men and women is bringing about solidate her Latin American embe cloaked in the form of "na- the realization of an ideal industional" demands of this or that trial union, aided also by the coming together of native and foreign born members.

unanimous adoption of a resolution from Haiti caused uneasiness, and Irrespective of what the NRA that may get beyond the control of actually believe what they wrote in ers' union will not be a "dual uncalling for the general strike if the showed that all was not so well in may do about the Code, the A. F. Wall Street. The results of bosses refused to concede to their lining up safe and sound delegates W. has gained increased prestige in conference will be discussed in a to the conference, when on the first the eyes of the workers as have later issue of the Militant.

The economic factors and quesone nations represented. The Amveit government is driving ahead
erican delegation, headed by Secwith great speed for better imperforms. The American imperialists
of the considered at the tions to be considered at the confer are attempting to avoid these probization, uniform import prohibitions, permanent custom duties and

> A real discussion on the above Hotel Union points, and not mere talk by puppet sistance and substage of the condelegates, would really be stepping servative officials. When the denoted for the multiplicity of indepoints, and not mere talk by puppet sistance and sabotage of the conon Uncle Sam's toes. That is the legates meet at Boston next Mon-pendent unions. The shoe workers reason America hopes to keep these points off the Agenda. The question of debts is important, but America does not care to talk debts when her creditors are bankrupt and may ask for a moratorium; rather it is wiser to see what can 30 to 1. erica. That is what the delegates

with the captains, the house to keep will agree to discuss debts so long as the discussion does not lead to decisive action.

> Regardless of what form the economic discussion may take one position and control over Latin America in the struggle against the ica to export surplus capital so vital for America's internal life and, at the same time, enable her

The American delegates are em-Beginning of Organization Drive the main opposition force to the Early this summer a spirit of United States in the Pan-American a week, one in the evening and one major share of the expense of an United States in the Pan-American a week, one in the evening and one major share of the expense of an expense of organization began to pervade the conference, not only because of its in the afternoon. Last Friday evel engineering survey for a proposed ment is based on "confessions" made flowing strongly in the channel of because England has been fighting ported on the fight which we put railroad. These projects will open ment in the "People's House". It again that the labor movement gan to fill. The NRA came and with it the "right to organize". It organize". It has been nightness tooth and with it the "right to organize". It has been nightness tooth and with it the "right to organize". It again that the labor movement up the doors for capital investment which the bosses are using as a stuff or arbitrary pattern, but takes its within this first rate Latin Ameri- means of keeping our conditions are using as a stuff or arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an and or arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its and the people, the issuest of an arbitrary pattern, but takes its arb within this first rate Latin American country.

which the bosses are using as a late the taken to be seen and the people, the issue of arbitrary pattern, but takes its ance of illegal papers, betrayal of own course in different industries miserably low. In addition to a U. S. Government in the Pan-Americal military secrets, work for illegal according to differing circum-War and revolution will be dis- number of shop delegates, James P. ican conference are the further exmakers were finally almost com- are in the midst of the Chaco war. On Tuesday, November 22, Burk- contenders and a straightjacket for 60. 31 of the men were put under the arbitrary building of new inpletely organized and to demon- Peru and Columbia have not yet hardt, Cook and B. J. Field were the workers and peasants of Latin cross-examination the first day of dependent unions all along the line, strate their strength came out settled the Leticia affair. The the first ones to speak for labor's America to prevent the Soviet idea the trial, the remaining 60 on the the specific situation in the shoe 100% in a 3 o'clock walk-out and Cuban revolution is in the fore side of the case at the NRA hear that raise its head in the Cuban revolution.

The conference is only two days

-HUGO OEHLER.

Shoe Workers to Merge Unions

Independents at Boston Convention

bring about the amalgamation in Independent Unions in Shoe Industry the face of the most stubborn reday they will stand instructed by were forced onto this path by the referendum vote of the organiza systematic betrayals of the official tions to take the necessary steps to A. F. of L. body, the Boot and Shoe bring about the unification. The referendum carried by the overwhelming majority of more than actionary unionism, this "label"

vention will be the National Shoe Workers' Association, with approximately 26,000 workers; the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, with approximately 30,000; and the Inde-

hope to force discussion. As a Nazis Doom 91 tions together; the conservative of-ficialdom, which fastened itself on S.W.P. Workers to Long Terms

91 S. A. P. members were ar-

Dresden by the local S. A. (Storm convention with a harmonious pro-Troops) The trial began on Nov-gram for the final amalgamation of ember 1, unannounced in the press the unions, a new day will dawn Despite that, hundreds of workers for the shoe workers of the coungathered in front of the courthouse. try and a bright page of labor his-Only a small number of them gain- tory will be turned. The solidarity ed admission to the proceedings, and hope of the advanced workers The press was not admitted either. The court issued statements of its vention in its deliberations and own accord. The S. A. leader attached to the troop guarding the labor movement will be strengthen. dressed the crowd as follows: "The accused are warned that in case they disturb the trial by any kind powered to offer a half a million of shouts or remarks, they wil be dollars as a start for the Texas deported immediately to the special passed over in silence. The state's less conclusively. attorney asks them whether they The new amalgamated shoe worktheir illegal paper, Klassenfront, viz ion"; it will be the legitimate and that the Nazis set fire to the Reich-genuine organization in the indusstag. One of the accused answers: try and will be entitled to the un-"What Klassenfront reports is the qualified support of the workers in general opinion of the people". An- its struggle for supremacy against other answers: "I do not believe the A. F. of L. union, the corrupt that my comrades who put out this and treacherous "Boot and Shoe paper would set any false reports

The verdict has just been made

corrective institutions. (The following extracts from a cerning the trial of the 91 members of the Socialist Workers Party was published in the British New Lead-About the methods of investiga-

"It is known that most of the

tion reports are now coming through

"Answer 'Yes' or 'No' "

stone pilar. Then a commissioner a genuine labor organization. ture. A number of new pamphlets began the investigation, continual. The developments among the shoe ture. A number of new pamphlets are coming up. Organizers are to leged crime was put as a question, tive lesson regarding the real trend and the rpisoner could answer only of the labor movement. In demon-But all of these aims, which are 'Yes' or 'No'. If he answered strating the vitality that remains of the big job of otherwise, the stormtrooper punched in the independent union movement

> results of this treatmnet. The vic-Workers' Industrial Union. after tims almost lost consciousness, and trying in every way to disrupt the the more they screamed the more amalgamation movement and to pleasure their torturers gained.... take the place of the other unions,

"If this first 'admonition'-so has been reduced to such a weak of the new projects in our program they called this brutal treatment position that it had to apply for of action. Enroll yourself now as |-did not succeed, it was reinforced admission into the amalgamation a supporter of the new party of by blows from the rubber trunch convention at the last moment uneons on the head and back, until der pressure of its own members. the wretched victims admitted any. The Stalinists contributed nothing thing to avoid further torture....

(Continued on Page 4)

The eyes of the labor movement pendent Shoe Workers' Union of will be on Boston next Monday, Salem, with about 2,000 members. December 11, when the amalgama The attempt to bring the Brother-hood of Shoe Workers and Allied tion convention of the independent Craftsmen of Brockton, with about unions of shoe workers convenes 11,000 members, into the amalgamafor the purpose of uniting them into tion movement has not yet succeeda single body. This convention ed because of official opposition, but comes as the culmination of a long a strong rank and file sentiment struggle of the rank and file to for the unification exists there also.

The shoe industry has long been Workers' Union. Even from the standpoint of typical American reunion stands in a class by itself as corrupt and boss-serving organi-Directly represented at the coners for genuine trade unionism manifested itself in almost every revolt through the medium of independent organization. The weaktess of their movement arose from the inability up till now to bring the various independent organizations together; the conservative ofthe two main organizations, blocked the unity.

The strike wave of the past season gave the necessary impulse to the movement from below and carried it forward with a surging militancy to the present result. If the delegates at Boston succeed in 91 S. A. P. members were ar-carrying out the mandate of the rested in the month of August in rank and file, and come out of the

Bright Prospects of New Independent Union

The bright prospects for the emergence of a new powerful union of organizations. 7 of the accused are stances. If the general developments the elimination of other imperialist ity are between 18 and 30, one over ing blow to those who prescribed second day. Some speak reluctant-industry, which drove with the force ly about the confessions forced from of necessity to the constitution of them, others protest openly that a completely independent union, rethey were mishandled. This is futes the A. F. of L. fetishists no

Tasks of New Union In our opinion the new union

known: All 91 were condemned to ther efforts to come to an agreewill have the task of making fur-100 years of prison and 10 years in ment and unification Brockton Brotherhood (The following extracts from a ent) and in waging a determined battle to organize the entire industry in head-on collision with the corrupt "Boot and Shoe" affiliate of the A. F. of L. The worst danger to the new movement is presented by those who have some naneuvers with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union up their sleeve. accused after being arrested were to become a power in its own right brought to the Dresden Storm troops and drive its corrupt rival from the barracks in the former Trade Union field with the help of the betrayed shoe workers still within its ranks who only await a favorable oppor-"Usually they were brought to a tunity to break away from it and room and commanded to stand by a unite with their fellow workers in

Stalinists cannot be the medium for "It is impossible to describe the its growth. The Shoe and Leather but disruption and disorganization In some cases the accused were to the effort to bring the shoe workers together and have completely discredited themselves.

ed since we issued our public de-

International and a new Communist party in this country. Already ed most directly in the actual grow th of the League. New branches are springing up and nearly every where the existing units are teem ing with life and activity, extend ing the influence of the Left Opposition and its sympathetic circle Feverish efforts were made by the ing season was over. At the height

pant in it is our aim. tory step by openly proclaiming our pices of the Film Club of the Inorientation for a new International ternational Workers School. The and a new party. This first deci- hall can be reached by the B. M. T. the committee, they advocated its elaboration of an Action Program Ave., or the I. R. T .-- 7th Ave.-New

Less than two months have pass- In this we proceeded directly from Action Program is the populariza the firm conviction that the way tion of The Militant and the estabto overcome the contradiction be-lishment of a monthly theoretical tween our heavy tasks and the in- organ. We have already made a adequate forces and material means beginning towards the popularizaat our disposal is to make a bold ex- tion of the contents of The Militant. pansion of all activities. One of We have reduced its price to put the most important points in our it within reach of the workers so

OPEN FORUM

ARNE SWABECK Just Returned from a Tour of the Country

THE PROSPECTS FOR REV-OLUTION IN AMERICA Friday, December 8, 1933, 8 p. m. JAMES P. CANNON

THE MEANING OF THE RECENT LYNCHINGS Maryland, California, Missouri, What Next?

Friday, December 15, 1933, 8 p. m. International Workers School Hall 126 East 16th Street, nr Irving Pl. Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.) Opestions — — Discussion ADMISSION 15 CENTS

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION FILM The "Russian Revolution" film scheduled for Dec. 3rd is postponed are urgently needed for current for Saturday, Dec. 23rd. It will be held at the Militant Hall, 154 Wat-We have taken the first prepara- kins St., Brooklyn, under the aus-

frightfuly hit by the ravages of er for November 17, 1933.) the capitalist crisis and the new pressure of the "recovery" meas ures. We aim to make The Militant a real builder of this new move ment which, while maintaining entirely its unequivocal Marxian position, speaks in terms understandable to the workers. We aim Building.... to have it yet more fully reflect their struggles and aspirations and serve as an unfailing guide.

We plan the publication of a theoretical organ in the near fu-

assembling the forces for a new his face so hard that his head they prove concretely, at the same revolutionary party, depend for struck the stone pillar with territime, that the organizations of the their fulfillment on the financial fic force. support we receive now from our comrades and friends. This, point now stands out prominently and imperatively. We are depending on you to stand with us now. Funds work as well as for the promotion Communism in a concrete, practical way. Send your contribution to

THE MILITANT 126 East 16th Street New York City

DRIVING FOR THE NEW PARTY

claration for the creation of a new

To assemble the forces for the creation anew of a revolutionary party-this is the gigantic task which we have undertaken in this country. It will test the ability, devotion and capacity for sacrifice of every comrade. Our task is facilitated by the present raising curve of the labor movement as a whole. The most momentous problems will be posed before it in the next immediate period. For these correct solution can be advanced only from the arsenal of Marxism. It is in the crucible of the struggle ed. To be the most active partici-

for the coming immediate period. Lots to Rockaway Avenue.

to the Hitler Plebiscite

(The following article, reprinted from Unser Wort, the German organ of the Bolshevik-Leninists, was published prior to the Nazi plebiscite on the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the sanctioning of Hitler's foreign policy.-Ed)

There are many reasons for the Hitler Plebiscite and the withdrawal from the League of Nations. In ism, nevertheless we must not

neglect them. truly not a glorious page in the history of Fascism, and which seriously compromises the Hitler government before the foreign world There are also the differences in the leadership which they will not be able to stifle or minimize for very long. There is, moreover, the rapid decline in the confidence and enthusiasm of the petty bourgeois masses gathered from reports of all parts of the Reich. All this makes it necessary to "do somemakes it necessary to "do somesomething", to divert the attention of the foreign world and lack of schools and the increasing relief. And it therbey deprives the skyists". tivity of the Socialist and Communist parties, than in this field.

an organized comedy—whose re- Commissioner of Education, by four sults are made to order by the Min-hundred representatives of forty ister for Reichstag Fires, that is, educational organizations. "More ing" results of these elections back- 2,000 rural schools failed to open ed by all the methods of Fascist ter- this fall". To these figures should ror, compared with which the be added the curtailment of school democratic freedom, will appear in material like text books, the crowdthe eyes of the outside world—ed class-rooms and the other easily rank and file. which has no real notion of this imagined injurious effects of this German Macedonia-as a demonstration of the German people in favor of Hitler. There are important ers can be seen from statements in tion of Teachers is a part of it. The tasks of activity and propaganda the same resolution. "One in every passage of the resolution for unfor the emigrants in this field.

from the League of Nations—has no salary at all." far deeper consequences than the trivial interests of daily agitation. It was dictated almost completely by the development of German imperialism after the war. The imperialist contradictions being opposed to its complete annihilation, German imperialism, suffering in continue to squeeze for greater profits and greater economies. And ists. The journalists were not given the right of entry on the to reach first rank. If it cannot this crisis, should the capitalists obtain it as an independent force it succeed in overcoming, it, will be endeavors to become an equal ally succeeded by others of a deeper treated with equality and esteem. character. If our present experi-For only a war, openly posing the ence means anything it indicates question of a new division of the that the attacks on the educational world, could re-establish its own system will increase and cut deepstatus. In this connection, Hitler status. In this connection, Hitler er. is only continuing what was begun It follows that the employed teach-newly-formed Austrialian section by Stresemann and Herrmann Mul- ers will suffer a drastic lowering known as the Workers' Party (Left

rests less on his courage than on resist. The thousands of unemploy- ed journal devoted to theoretical perience. The great powers of the who are qualifying to teach will in Australia and internationally. League of Nations have so demon- never do so if they wait for the strated their weakness on the de- capitalist masters of society to parture of Japan, that Germany, provide them with the opportunity. the growing strength of the ideas of still weaker, has permitted itself to Together they should struggle for Marxism as represented by the do likewise.

The unparalleled economic de cadence has forced Germany to look for quick solutions and to tions. Experience has vindicated curtailment of school facilities as ment not only because the new desert the path of patient negotiathe position of Germany. No one every successful resistance increas paper is a namesake of our organ wants today to engage in war with Germany; no French paper dares to pose the question of sanctions.

On the other hand it would be false to imagine that Germany wants to go to war tomorrow. Several years of preparation are necessity resistance increasing the possibility of advancing to the counter-attack for expansion of the counter-attack for expansion of the molecular for employed should support the struggle of the unemployed for work and relief as every successive resistance increasing and because of its reprinting of articles from the Militant and Young Spartacus but also because we feel a particular responsibility in the formation of the Australian threat against the lowering of the molecular that carried the possibility of advancing to the counter-attack for expansion of the molecular formation of the Militant and Young Spartacus but also because we feel a particular responsibility in the formation of the Bolshevik-Leninists. eral years of preparation are nectitheir own standards through essary. Still less does it want pressure of the unemployed war against France. In this sense work. Hitler's speeches are quite "sincere" They want to buy the dearest alliance, but not for war in the west. The real way for war, particularly for Hitler Germany, is the surance is one of the best means of your struggle for the proletarian

The decision of Fascist Germany has sown the greatest confusion in the socialist and Communist parties. Both of them, kicking over Marxism, have accused Hitler not of nationalism, but of lack of nationalism. The whole agitation of the C. P. G. up to the month of [] June still tends to demonstrate the national "treachery" of Hitler. The Deutche Freiheit stammers pitifully that the action of Hitler leads to a worsening of the positions of Germany as if it were paragraphs and statutes and not re-

lationship of forces which decide. Hitler is still not national enough for the C. P. G. We will be curious to know whether the C. P. G. wins a single Nazi with the help of this "tactic". But at the same time the C. P. G. has fallen into another contradiction. While the C. P. G. follows the line of the former foreign policy of the U S. S. R., Litvinov has already embraced Herriot; Pilsudsky and Molotov send telegrams of protest against the German disturber in the ranks of the League of Nations. The entire policy of the last years has deprived the U.S.S.R. of its independence on the international arena and forces it to follow one or another

We Internationalist-Communists point of view on the national questreaty of Versailles, whose abolition

Athens, Oct. 28 fundamentally different tion. For us, the main enemy is ried on by our comrades among the German imperialism, the represen- sailors of the Red Fleet during the tative of exploitation and the artilitive days they stopped over in the ficer of the next war, and not the port of Phalere. The fleet, composed of a cruiser can only help our enemies. We and two destroyers entered the have never followed a nationalist port of Phalere on Monday morning. policy as do the msierable epigones. The first day was devoted to official rades distributed leaflets in Russian great impression, by its armament to them in the Archeologic museum. and generally by its construction, the first place they seem to have fought it as a policy which streng- their respects to the minister of been dictated by the daily worries thens the exploiters and brings war the Navy. The minister returned the of the Hitler government. While nearer. In this sense we arouse visit of the fleet, receptions, speech

these worries do not permit us to the masses, today again, against es of friendship and mutual adpredict the fall of German Fasc-this Hitlerite policy which despite miration, etc. The police were its pacifistic phrases and by means mobilized. No one could approach of its pacifistic phrases is preparing the harbor.... The streets of Athens First, there is the trial on the for war. There is only one way: were full of dicks and bulls. But burning of the Reichstag which is to reject this shameful plebiscite of as the admirals left the ministry the organizers of hunger and the of Navy, their auto was covered with the leaflets of the organization and the admirals were greeted with

Unemployment Insurance - A Slogan to Unite Teachers and Workers

the popular masses, to find a specialization of knowledge and economizers of a lever to lower the slogan which will mobilize everybody for the creation of a new of the educational methods and expansion of the problems of the sequentional methods and economizers of a lever to lower the improvement in educational methods and economizers of a lever to lower the standards of the employed.

Of the educational methods are the problems of the educational methods are the standards of the problems of the educational methods. body for the creation of a new national united front. The field of "external national policy" is quite appropriate to this end. Nowhere had the agreement with the Fascist bandits of all sections of the population been greater; nowhere has the noisy work of the Fascists borne better fruit, in no question is the ideological cemoralization of the German proletariat more of the German proletariat more of the German proletariat more of the captalists are trying at the contravation of the contravation of the contravation of the German proletariat more of the captalists are trying the contravation of the German proletariat more of the contravation of the contravati of the German proletariat more marked, thanks to the shameful actional system.

The toll this economy has exacted. The toll this economy has exacted

given in a recent resolution present-Even if this plebiscite was not ed to George F. Zook, United States economy.

What all this means to the teach-Hitler's step—the withdrawal Thousands of teachers are receiving the question of doing something

Not A Temporary Phenomenon There is good reason to believe that this contraction is not a temporary phenomenon. The need for economy is not likely soon to distinguished this important activity.

—T. STAMM. porary phenomenon. The need for appear. The crisis is not over. The

system and resist its contraction. unemployed should support the away Australia. We take particustruggle of the employed against lar pride in making this announcefor

Unemployment Insurance For

The fight for unemployment in- are wholeheartedly with you uniting the employed and unemploy- revolution in Australia!

assistance from the workers have the same enemies.

In the struggle for unemployment insurance the teachers have a means of joining their struggle with that of the workers movement. the Minister of Propaganda—Hitler than 2,200,000 children of school in the Cincinnati, 1932 and Washcould secure votes on this field bet- age are already deprived of educa- ington, 1933 conventions the A. F. ter than on any other. The "impostional opportunity" and "nearly of L. went on record for unemployment insurance. We do not expect that Green and Woll will organize the movement for it of thier own "Balkan elections" are orgies of terms, the shortage of indispensable accord. But the wheels can be set in motion by pressure from the

The teachers now have an opporunity to begin the agitation in the A. F. of L. The American Federathree American teachers is now re- employment insurance two years ceiving less than \$750 per year. running gives a good basis to raise about it in the A. F. of L. It gives the teachers' movement a card of entry to almost every union meet ing to present its case for united action. The teachers should begin

'Militant'

We are happy to announce the the Militant. It is the organ of our of their living and working condi- Opposition). The Austrialian Mili-The move of Hitler in Geneval tions if they do not organize and tant is a twelve page mimeograph-

There is powerful testimony to the growing strength of the ideas of the expansion of the educational Bolshevik-Leninists in the appearance of a group of comrades and For this they need unity. The a paper advocating them in far

> the message to them. Revolutionary greetings to our Australian comades! More power to your progress and success in the Australian labor movement!

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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«No!»-Unser Wort's Reply Red Fleet Greeted with Cry: "Long Live Trotsky" Statement of Goldman on During Visit to Greece

The Visting Days

The second day was the sailors'. museums. It was then that we had quality of bread and margarine. the opportunity to carry on an ex-Live the Red Fleet, Long Live the many articles on it. Red Army! Long Live Trotsky!" On Concord Square the police attacked our comrades and arrested a comrade, as well as a worker sympathizer, who had crashed the ranks of the sailors and distributed the leaf-

cept the leaflets. On the Acropolis another strong group of comrades mixed with the sailors and discussed with them They stated that the sailors show ed an intense interest, but the officers intervened and pushed them away. There were sailors who insulted the name of comrade Trot sky. But a great number remain ed silent and showed a kind of for astonishment to see so many "Trot-

lets. Under coercion the sailors

made no gesture and did not ac

A big sailor approached our com-

teachers cannot succeed against among the sailors was the fact that their powerful enemies. They need as they strolled along in small controversy rages around a second of the reasons for the present at-assistance from the workers who groups they encountered "Trotsky- ary i sue such as the monetary tack of the "sound money" advo-Trotsky!" and handed them leafilets. Capitalists. At the same time it is flation, meaning that he is using There were cases where the sailors answered with insults. But some important struggle. Due to his gov-direct currency inflation. Others companied by officers) took the in a key position to launch an dark as to the government policy leaflets and hid them. In the stores attack. His resignation as treas- and hope that the attack will force where the sailors bought foot-wear ury financial adviser is hailed by the issuance of a statement indicatand small articles they were aston- the press as a step that will bring ing more completely the objectives ished to find leaflets of our organization. Our comrades of the trade on the monetary question. This is velt monetary policy. The Eurunion of store employees who were well-supplied with leaflets enclosed mains a secondary one. them in the purchases made by the sailors. There were also characteristic scenes in which on the one hand the bureaucrats showed their

> purchases at a store. The guide showed them a survey of the party. less we get together, tackle and The sailors said: No, it is Trotsky-

wrath and the terror to which the

sailors were subjected.

who gathered in the Acropolis in the final breakdown will come two a very wise manner, so as not to years from now." disturb the friendly relations warships. The most characteristic thing was that the sailors did not dare to speak to anyone. Even

cept them. The Attitude of the Sailors

and "wise". When they entered a Litvinov-Stalin, the glaring change party insignia, remained outside Affairs to the present incumbetn, and watched. They all bought footfrom Brest-Litovsk to Washington.

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Every Sunday 3 P. M. DECEMBER SCHEDULE -The Crisis in Chicago Edu-GEORGE MAHIN, Executive Secretary

Chicago High School Teachers Ass'n. -Science and Social Changes Prof. BRODA BARNES,

Physiology Dept. Univ. of Chicago.

Dec. 17.—Nationalism: Real and Fictitious.

MAXIMILIAN OLAY Noted Anarchist writer and leader. Dec. 24.—Religion and Social Pro-

GEORGE KATSIOLIS Communist orator of note. alism and Decisive Crises. (An analysis of the causes the 3 workers Internation-

JOSEPH GIGANTI of Chicago Left Opposition

BROOKLYN OPEN FORUM JACK WEBER

THE N. R. A. AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS Friday, December 8, 1933, 8 P. M. MILITANT HALL Watkins St. (cor. Belmont St.) ADMISSION 10 CENTS

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mai matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communis League of America (Opposition) EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Vol. VI, No. 54 (Whole No. 201) SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1933 Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year

Foreign \$1.50

shouts: "Long Live the Red Fleet, wear for themselves or for their An extensive agitation was car- and Army! Long Live Trotsky!" wives, stockings and watches. They which were in bad condition. Dur-The sailors, in groups with officers ing their noon-hour meal (they ate

to the station with shouts: "Long of the Greek navy. They wrote emphasize is that the abandonment The fleet left for Naples, Italy in the greatest danger to the Soviet compelled by the force of events to the evening. They will probably Union. To the middle class intelgo also to Marseilles. The oppor- lectuals Stalin gives evidence of his tunity will also be present there to great "statemanship" by concen-

The cruiser "Krasny-Kavkaz", clear to everyone who keeps fairly pelled from the Communist parties.

were well-clad save for their shoes at their head, went to visit the on the Acropolis) they ate a cheap phrase only in the ritual on holiday the banner of Stalinism at the time celebrations should by this time be

tensive agitation. A group of com-built in the U. S. S. R., made a well informed with ideas and rades distributed leaflets in Russian great impression, by its armament events. The sailors were accompanied up on the journalists and the officers

> show the sailors of the Red Fleet trating on "building socialism in that the liquidation of "Trotsky-one country". To them comrade ism" only exists in the minds of Trotsky is the wild revolutionary the bureaucrats of the Stalinist without a sense of "realism". To

Joining Communist League In joining the Left Opposition I Stalin's path means inevitable disam doing that which every thinking aster and betrayal of the internarevolutionary Marxist should not tional working class, including the fail to do. That the Stalinist bu- Russian. This explains why so reaucracy has forsaken the idea of many of the New Republic and the world revolution and uses the Nation enthusiasts are flocking to

What it is incumbent upon every I immediately knew who representrevolutionary Marxist to assert and of the world revolution represents

the working class revolutionist

The Class Meaning of the Conflict over the Roosevelt Monetary Policy

The government money policy in, Of course this is only half of relation to the national recovery act the story. The other half, which tories, while on the other hand I of the present administration has Lenin warned our class about, is saw evident signs of degeneration A big sailor approached our com-rades and said in a low voice "Trot-gle within the camp of the big revolutionary policy and revolutionary party in the party, and working class sky is O. K." Another, bearing the bourgeoisie over methods to be used away and insulted him. For three dle class at home and the workers how difficult the cituation of matter stay I came in contact with an Ambours our compades passisted give hours our comrades persisted, sing- of the world has been brought to talism is. what concealed. Now it has inflation have been tried. Now in th New York machinist who left the

controversy rages around a second-of the reasons for the present atists" at every step who greeted policy. It seems to be an excellent cates. Some say that Roosevelt is them with the shout: "Long Live point of attack for the opposition fighting the inflationists with ina convenient cover for the more mild forms of inflation to head off ernment position Dr. Sprague was do not desire to be kept in the into sharp relief the different views of the present drift in the Roosetrue. Nevertheless the question re- opean economists, reviewing the

Dr. Sprague's Statement Dr. Sprague understands the dif-

ficulties of the capitalist system as a whole. More significant on this score than his criticism of the Rooseyelt money policy was the monetary policy of the administra- party members, when A group of sailors were making following statement by Dr. Sprague:

solve these major problems which

Pioneer Publisher Notes on Pamphlets

phlet will present documentary ma-As to the general attitude of the terial showing the revisionist dilusailors—they were silent, austere tion of Soviet foreign policy under from Brest-Litovsk to Washington. Comrade Shachtman has been assigned to prepare this material all exchange when monetary agree-This pamphlet is intended for wide distribution at low cost. Its quick satisfactory to America. appearance is imperative. Many workers will be intensely interested in learning its contents and thus adding to their store of Marxian knowledge. Financial contributions are needed so that this pamphlet can make its appearance without delay. Send all funds to Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

> A SPECIAL OFFER In order that the militant worker be given the opportunity to know the tremendous differences between Soviet diplomacy of 1933 and that of 1918, Pioneer Publishers is making a special offer of the splendid- of the problems and contradictions of their position, the more I talkly documented volume, "Russia and confronting American imperialism. ed with their representatives, the Germany at Brest-Litovsk" by Judah At the most such measures can more disgusted I became. The two-

Arne Swabeck's pamphlet, "Unem- will have to be "tackled and the incorrect one for the capitalist leading to the downfall of ployment and the American Work- solved" to prevent a break-down. ing Class" will sell for 25 cents

a revolutionary policy and revolutional peasant dissatisfaction. Fortionary leadership, there cannot be tunately in the last month of my how difficult the situation of capi- erican-Jewish worker in Kharkov,

Drastic Steps To Be Taken In the money policy of the government, all of the mild methods of dications are that more drastic It is no accident that the present steps are to be taken. This is one Olgin, in a lecture, describe the steps taken by the United States. inform the dollar defenders that they took the identical steps sev-

eral years ago.

to have the dollar sailing the seven pose of remaining there. seas as the dominating internationment can be reached on a

Increase In Foreign Trade

The increase in foreign trade for he month of October is reported enthusiastically by the capitalist press which attributes a considerable part of this gain to the deto the pound and the franc. Soviet recognition and trade, through garded as a step to increase the exports and regain markets. In addition to this America holds a favorable position in the Pan-American conference

The tinkering with the financial -Working class Internation | I. Magnes published first in 1918. only provide short breathing spells. This valuable book together with The more fundamental problems -HUGO OEHLER.

ed the truth of revolutionary Marxism. I hoped, however, that the Communist International would be change its policies. I was not convinced that it was necessary to follow comrade Trotsky in making an

when revolutionary Marxists are ex-

When in the early part of 1903 I

became acquainted with Trotsky's

"Criticism of the Draft Program"

open and intransigeant struggle against the destructive ideas and tactics of the Comintern. Only my very closest friends knew where sympathics lay. The party functionaries knew that I followed Trotsky's writings very closely and expressed some displeasure but attributed my interest to the fact that I was not a worker but an intellectual.

My five months in the Soviet Union in 1931 left me more disturbed than ever. On the one hand I saw the successful building of huge facand my first enthusiasm engendered by the appearance of huge factories was tempered by a more intimate knowledge of the life of the Soviet worker as revealed to me by United States because he heard Soviet Union as a veritable para-

Testimony of Russian Party

The economic hardships for the workers and peasants, however, were not in themselves sufficient to cause one to change his views on basic principles. Difficulties and hardships are to be expected. In 1931, the effect of the adventurous policies of the "liquidation of the kulak as a class" and "the five year plan in four" was not yet fully apparent. There was a great deal of hope that the end of the five year plan would witness marked improvement.

What was most disturbing was But underlying and more funda- the intellectually stifling atmomental than the offensive over the sphere in the party. Several times tion is the struggle of the capitalist alone, asked me in a whisper con-"Capitalism cannot survive un- group working for greater govern- cerning the whereabouts of Trotment and industrial centralization sky. They did not even know that against the capitalist individualists. he was in Turkey. The party memist. All the Greeks are Trotskyists. are breaking it down, which have al- And also there is the struggle over bers had a grotesque picture of The C. P. did nothing. It could ready partially broken it down. I the question of the financial under-conditions in capitalist countries. only mobilize a dozen bureaucrats, should say that, failing solution, takings and expenses of the govern- Discussion in the party units rement for which at present there are volved around how best to carry no means of equalizing through out the party line. It was no longgovernment income. Some argue er a Communist party—that is, a that the middle class will have to living, thinking, functioning group bear the burden with increased of class-conscious workers but a taxes. Others contend that the is- huge machine unthinkingly carrysuing of green-backs and currency ing out the behests of "the leader" inflation is the best method. This states I was determined to give big capitalists and the middle class. the Chicago workers who were in-A pamphlet on the history of Soviet diplomacy under Lenin and under the Stalin regime is in preparation and will be published by the Pioneer Publishers. This name big capitalists and the middle class. It is a struggle within the camp of the stalin regime is in preparation and will be published by the Pioneer Publishers. This name big capitalists and the middle class. It is a struggle within the camp of the Soviet Union. Though more the best method of consolidating and maintaining their power at was right in his criticism of Staling and the middle class. It is a struggle within the camp of the Soviet Union. Though more the best method of consolidating and maintaining their power at was right in his criticism of Staling and the middle class. It is a struggle within the camp of the Soviet Union. Though more the best method of consolidating and maintaining their power at was right in his criticism of Staling and the middle class. home and abroad with the least in's economic policies in the Sofriction. The struggle against the viet Union, I was not yet prepared pound and the franc on the interna- to begin a struggle in the open. tional field is as fundamental as therefore omitted many things in the struggle against the other class- my lectures on the Soviet Union. I the utilization of the Japanese ex- ed teachers and the thousands more problems facing the working class store, one of them, always with a from the first Commisar of Foreign es at home. For, in the last analy- simply warned my listeners not to sis, the leading imperialists desire go to the Soviet Union for the pur-

The German Lesson It was the German situation and

the insane policies followed by the C. I. bureaucrats that convinced me of the necessity of an open fight against these policies. It became obvious that not to struggle against the Comintern "line" amounted to an actual betrayal. Comrade Trotsky was absolutely correct in his open and uncompromising struggle preciation of the dollar in relation against the revisionism of Stalin and his fellow-bureaucrats. No longer quiet, but speaking openly against credits on American terms, are rethe C. I. line, I was immediately expelled.

I knew, of course, that I be-

longed to the Left Opposition. Nevertheless I would not join without getting in touch with the "Lovestoneites" and reading their literastructure is only a surface scratch ture over again. The more I read Stalin idea—one the correct Stalin for the Soviet Union and the other countries-was sickening. Herberg's article in the Modern Monthly explaining the position of the Lovestoneites" was the last straw. It is pitiful for anyoné to attempt to make such a sharp distinction between Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries. It is a denial of Marxism for anyone to say: the principles are correct, only the tactics are The Principles of Marx and Lenin

I have joined the Left Opposition because it represents the interests of the international revolutionary working class. It is clear to me that the principles upon which it stands are based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin and free from the filth and revisionism of Stalin and his obedient satellites in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries.

He who understands the principles of revolutionary Marxism and who is not afraid to struggle for those principles has only one road to follow-to build a new party and a new international under the leadership of the Left Opposition.

---ALBERT GOLDMAN.

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THE LANGUAGE OF BOLSHEVIK DIPLOMACY

(Note of Soviet Comissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin to President Woodrow transmitted through the Norwegian Attache in Moscow, October 24, 1918).

Mr. President, In your message of January 8th Imperialism. Your program, you might count upon American help. declared, demands the evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and then, and the Russian people have freest co-operation of the other na- had sufficient time to get actual tions of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembar-Allies' good will, of their compre-left Russia in the beginning of the rassed opportunity for the indep hension of the needs of the Rus- year had the French Government endent determination of her poil- sian people, of their intelligent un- provided ships for them. For several provided ships for them. tical development and national pol- selfish sympathy. This attitude of eral months we have waited in icy, and assure her a sincere wel- your Govenrment and of your Al- vain for your Allies to provide the come into the society of free na- lies was shown first of all in the opportunity for the Czecho-Slovaks tions under institutions of her own conspiracy which was organized on to leave. Evidently these Governchoosing; and, more than a wel- Russian territory with the finan- ments have very much preferred the come, assistance of every kind that cial assistance of your French Al- presence of the Czecho-Slovaks in she may need and may herself de- lies and with the diplomatic co-op Russia-the results show for what sire. And you added that "the eration of your Government as well object—to their departure treatment accorded to Russia by -the conspiracy of the Czecho-Slov- France and their participation in her sister nations in the months to aks to whom your Government is the fighting on the French front come will be the acid test of their furnishing every kind of assistance. The best proof of the real object good-will, of their comprehension For some time attempts had been of the Czecho-Slovaks rebellion is of her needs as distinguished from made to create a pretext for a war the fact that although in control of their own interests, and of their between Russia and the United the Siberian railway, the Czechointelligent and unselfish sympathy." States by spreading false stories to Slovaks have not taken advantage

ently only intensified your sympathy after them Colonel Robins, the head remained in Russia to become

LEON TROTSKY

The victory of national-socialism not a question of reformism in the ship. You, socialist workers, do in Germany brought about in other wide sense of the word but of the not agree to this road. You hope countries not the strengthening of instinctive desire of the workers to not only to save what has been Communist but of democratic tend-safeguard their organizations and gained but also to move forward encies. In an especially clear form their "rights". From this purely along the road of democracy. Good! we see this in the examples of defensive and purely conservative As long as we have not convinced England and Norway. But the position the working class can and you and attracted you to our side same process is undoubtedly taking must in the process of struggle go we are ready to follow this road

place in a series of other countries over to a revolutionary offensive as well. It is very possible that along the whole line. The offenthal that you carry on the struggle for the social-democracy of Belgium in sive, in its turn, must make the democracy not in words but in particular will in the nearest fu- masses more susceptible to great deeds. Everybody admits—each in ture go through a period of a new revolutionary tasks and consequines own way—that in the present political ascent. That reformism ently to our program. But to conditions a "strong government" is the worst break on historic de- achieve this we must go through is necessary. Well then, make your ocracy is doomed to failure—this together with the masses, in their a strong democratic government. as in the decline of capitalism,

The Workers Dread Fascism ists kept on asserting for the last socialist revolution. couple of years that there is no difference between Fascism and democracy, that Fascism and social democracy are twins. On the tragic experience of Germany the workers of the whole world convinced themselves of the criminal absurdity of such assertions. Therefore parties under conditions exception of the proletariat consists in coup and non-party workers. Having ful and which is learning to deally favorable for the revolutionary wing. Therefore also the desire of the workers to hold on to the dynamic elements in the present fense, we must impart to this detheir mass organizations and to defensive position of the working fense immediately a serious proleproblem presents itself to the consciousness of the many-millioned

Take the Situations As It Is

ocracy.

form of a decisive alternative: the

dictatorship of Fascism or the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat, but in

a form of a more primitive and

vague alternative: Fascism or dem-

working class masses not in the tity passes over into quality.

we remain always true to ourselves officials, etc., etc. The main slogan tical, trade-union, cultural, sport, and to our banner; always and un- of the Bolsheviks "all power to the cooperative and other working class we are, what we want and where of April up to September 1917 all for the defense of the institutions we are going. But we cannot force power to the social-democracy of proletarian democracy. The inists on this score is sufficiently tered into a governmental coalition the work will have, the sooner we eloquent. Instead of coupling their with the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks will gain the confidence of the prolocomotive to the train of the work- put forth the slogan "down with letariat, beginning with the youth, ing class and accelerating its move- the capitalist ministers". This sig- and the surer it will lead to vicment forward, the Stalinists set nified again: workers, force the tory. their locomotive with a loud whistle Mensheviks and Social-Revolutiontowards the train of the proletariat aries to take the whole power into and sometimes even collide with it their hands! The political experiso that only scrap is left of the ence of the only successful prolesmall locomotive. The consequitarian revolution is perverted and ences of such policy are evident: falsified by the Stalinists beyond in some countries the proletariat recognition. Our task here also has fallen a defenseless victim of consists in re-establishing the facts Fascism, in others it has been and drawing from them the necesthrown back to the positions of sary conclusions for the present.

The Struggle for Democratic

There can be no thought of course and war lies in the revolutionary leadership. of a serious and protracted regen- conquest of power and the estaberation of reformism. It is really lishing of the proletarian dictator- Nov. 7, 1933

«Ours Is a People's Government Yours Is Not » - Chicherin to Wilson

to the Congress of the United States for Soviet Russia, for you send of your Red Cross Mission, had been of North America, in the sixth greetings to the Congress of the convinced that these allegations point, you spoke of your profound Soviets, which under the threat of were absolutely false. The Czechosympathy for Russia, which was a German offensive ratified the Slovak conspiracy was organized then conducting, single-handed, negotiations with the mighty German and assurance that Soviet Russia

> Test of American Capitalism's "Good Will"

Six months have passed since The desperate struggle which we the effect that German war prison- of this to leave Russia, but by the waging at Brest-Litovsk ers had seized the Siberian rail- order of the Entente Governments against German Imperialism appar- way, but your own officers, and whose directions they follow, have

Dur Present Tasks

eyes off its Eastern borders and,

Deepen the Channels of Struggle

The Bolsheviks In 1917

Our Tasks Today

misled unfortunate people be protected, they would be surrendered to Germany and Austria; but you may find out, among other sources, from the open letter of Captain Sadoul, of the French Military Mis-

sion, how unfounded this charge is.

velopment and that the social-democracy is doomed to failure—this together with the masses in their is ABC to us. But the ABC alone first ranks, without dissolving in For this it is necessary first of all forced to move their troops to the tion of the solution of many econbe easy to remove all economic bardoes not suffice. In the general them but also without detaching to sweep away all the remnants of East to oppose the Czecho-Slovaks omic question which are essential riers and that all peoples, control-The Stalinists (and their miser- give the suffrage to all men and and oppression, and to the Northperiods of temporary rise are inevitable. The candle burns most
brightly before it goes out.

The Stainhists (and their misergive the surrage to an men and oppression, and to the North—
do not mention the war expendible with distribution of the stainhists (and their misergive the surrage to an men and oppression, and to the North—
do not mention the war expendible vitally interested in exchanging we do not at all desire to wage war
tures—this unbearable burden which the things they need. It will ten
against England, even though the
prohibition for all the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army. Full concentration of land against the countries of the army.

olution into a socialist one; for of the masses. This at any rate have been expected from your mesdemocracy, defiled by crimes and democracy, defiled by crimes and democracy, defiled by crimes and democracy and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by crimes and democracy defiled by crimes and democracy defined by the democracy defined by th democracy, defiled by crimes and treacheries, the opportunity of raising up again over the working class the banner of democracy as the banner of salvation.

Germany, where the crushed and struggle against Fascism and war, which described against Fascism and war.

We again over the workers the contribution of the Suscism and war.

We again over the workers against Fascism and war.

We again over the workers the contribution of the Suscism and war.

We again over the workers the contribution of the Suscism and war.

We again over the workers against Fascism and war.

We aga suppressing a deep mistrust, sup-the political responsibility for the Tens of millions of workers are ports the party of democratic "pacial-democratic government; but alarmed to the very depths of their fism" (Vandervelde & Co.). The hearts by the danger of Fascism Stalinists deduce the best of the point of hearts by the danger of Fascism. Stalinists deduce the bare renunci-struggle for such a government; to-Hitler showed them again what the ation of democratic slogans in a gether with you we would repel all the concrete of the state of the destruction of working class organpurely abstract way from the genlivations and of classory destruction. More
livations and of classory destruction of working class organpurely abstract way from the genlivations and of classory destruction. destruction of working class organ- purely abstract way from the genizations and of elementary demeral characteristic of our epoch than that, we would bind ourselves to the peasants and the factories ocratic rights means. The Stalin- as an epoch of imperialism and of before you not to undertake any revolutionary actions which go be-

> tains not even a grain of dialectics! ously placed itself on the side of Democratic slogans and illusions revolutionary dictatorship. cannot be abolished by decree. It is necessary that the masses go Attitude Toward Socialist Workers

Thus presented, the question con- ity of the workers has not consci-

democracy) so long as the major-

ling its locomotive to the train at taken together with them the inthe masses. It is necessary to find itial positions of democratic deand deepen the channels of the is necessary that every class-con-

That is the way I picture th basic characteristics of a truly Marxian policy for the coming period. In different countries of Europe this policy will, of course, assumé a different form depending on national circumstances. To follow attentively all the changes in the situation and all the shifts in the consciousness of the masses and to put forth at every new stage We, Bolsheviks, consider that slogans flowing from the whole sit the real salvation from Fascism uation—in this consists the task of

-L. TROTSKY.

mainstay of the Russian counter revolution.

Promises and Performances

Their counter-revolutionary mutiny, which made impossible the transportation of grain and petroleum on the Volga, which cut off the Russian workers and peasants the Councils of Workmen's Peas-eria; and however poor and ruined lation of Russia.

You have promised, Mr. President, to co-operate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually this co-operation took the form of an attempt of the Czecho-Slovak troops, and later, in Archangel, Murmansk and the Far East, of your own and your Allies' troops, to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose dominion was overthrown by the workers and ination over the Russian people—You probably mean by this that such was the experience of the the masses of the people must Russian people, instead of co-operation for the unembarrassed expression of their will which you promised them, Mr. President, in your declarations.

Wilson's "Assistance" to Russia You have also, Mr. President, promised to the Russian people to assist them in their struggle for inpeople were fighting on the Southern front against the counter-revolution, which has betrayed them to German Imperialism and was threatening their independence, while they were using all their en-

ants of Russia the aims of the Rusdefend the land that it has given that it has given the workers. The | yound the limits of democracy (real | fall of Kazan, Symbrysk, Syzran you, Mr. President, what were the consequences for us of the actions which followed your promises of January 8. Our trials helped us to create a strongly united and disthrough them and outlive them in For the coming period this should ciplined Red Army, which is daily the further decline of the Stalinist the experience of battles. The task be our attitude towards socialist growing stronger and more power-

The attitude toward us which was actually displayed by your Government nad by your Allies worth while is rising to the top Stalin. their democratic rights. Thanks to class; we must make the masses tarian character. We must firmly could not destroy us; on the conthe ten-year criminal policy of the draw conclusions from their own say to ourselves, we shall not allow trary, we are now stronger than we Stalinized Comintern the political democratic logic, we must widen that which occured in Germany! It were a few months ago, and your present proposal of international groups. The old shop is complete from Germany in preparation for struggle. And on this road quantity passes over into quality.

scious worker permeate himself in negotiations for a general peace through and through with the finds us alive and strong and in a to hear anything of them. thought of not allowing Fascism to position to give in the name of to hear anything of them. There raise its head. It is necessary sys Russia our consent to join the nego- is some talk about the Neumanists, Let us recall once more that in tematically and persistently to surtiations. In your note to Germany but no one really knows what they when the Bolsheviks were improved workers homes, publishing you demand the evacuation of occurrence. The successory systems of the surface of 1917 when the Bolsheviks were im- round workers homes, publishing you demand the evacuation of ocmeasurably stronger than any one houses and clubs with a circle of cupied territories as a condition them. There is however one group of the present sections of the Com- proletarian guards. It is necessary which must precede the armistice intern they continued to demand just as persistently to encircle the during which peace negotiations is the group of the communication in the continued to demand just as persistently to encircle the during which peace negotiations in the group of the communication in the communicat the earliest convocation of the Con- hearths of Fascism (newspapers, shall begin. We are ready, Mr. We must take the resultant poli-stituent Assembly, the lowering of clubs, Fascist barracks) with a President, to conclude an armistice tical situation as it is without the voting age, the right of suf-proletarian blockade. We must on these conditions, and we ask creating any illusions. Of course, frage for soldiers, the election of make fighting agreements with polisident, and your Allies intend to der all conditons we say openly who | Soviets" meant from the beginning organizations for common actions | Archangel and Siberia. You refuse to conclude an armistice unless Germany will stop the outrages, our program on the masses mechan- (Mensheviks and Social-Revolution- more serious and thoughtful, the pillaging, etc., during the evacuaically. The experience of the Stal- aries). When the reformists en- less loud and boastful character tion of occupied terriory. We allow ourselves, therefore, to draw the conclusion that you and your icies while they had been for the the capitulation of Zinoviev. In ritorial concessions as well. We Allies will order the Czecho-Slovaks united front with the middle layers any case it is only a transitory will tell this to the Russian people to return the part of our gold re-

> without waiting for your order). "Ours is a People's Government, Yours is Not".

their forced departure (for we will

With regard to your other peace fully satisfies this condition. Our blame on the shoulders of the at 10. government expresses the will of Thaelmanists. It does not breathe Monday Evenings: History and Pro-

«Your Post Is Not Yet Taken by Debs» of the commonwealth, working six hours in the factory, spends two Said Soviet Comissar to U.S. President the whole people will know how

from the Siberian stores of grain ants', and Red Army Deputies, re: Russia seems to be, she is ready basis your proposals about peace and other materials and condemned presenting at least eighty per cent them to starvation—this was the presenting at least eighty per cent can to help these victims of the have tried to formulate with presenting at least eighty per cent can to help these victims of the have tried to formulate with presenting at least eighty per cent can to help these victims of the large tried to formulate with presenting at least eighty per cent can to help these victims of the large tried to formulate with presenting at least eighty per cent can be presented as a condemned to the large tried to the large tried to formulate with presenting at least eighty per cent can be presented as a condemned to the large tried tried to the large tried first experience of the workers and of the Russian people. This can-war, and she expects that American have tried to formulate with prepeasants of Russia with your Government. But for the your promises of the beginning of sake of humanity and peace we do not demand as a prerequisite for not demand as a pre-equisite for not not not experience; an attack on North general peace negotiations that all peoples. Russia by Allied troops, including nations participating in the negotia-American troops, their invasion of tions shall be represented by Coun-Russian territory without any cils of Peoples' Commissars elected not only liquidate the present war, cause and without a declaration of at a Congress of Councils of Workwar, the occupation of Russian men's, Peasants' and Soldiers' De in the future. You must be aware, cities and villages, executions of puties. We know that this form of Mr. President, that the capitalists Soviet officials and other acts of Government will soon be the gen- of your country are planning to apviolence against the peaceful popu- eral form, and that a general peace, ply in the future the same policies themselves, surely lead the tortured peoples to create Soviet Governments that give exact expression to their will.

Agreeing to participate at pre-You probably mean by this that wars. everywhere first become the masdo not find among your demands your country, Mr. President, the sorry if these peoples should be friend, Colonel Robins assured us, denied the opportunity to particip- the arrest of twenty heads of capidependence. Actually this is what ate together with us, through their talistic cliques and the transfer of has occurred: While the Russian freely elected representatives, in the the control, which by characteristic

organization of the League of Na- capitalistic methods they have come For the Cancellation of War Debts We would also, Mr. President, principal source of new wars. very much like to know, before the negotiations, with regard to the President-if the sources of future their Western frontiers, they were have begun, what is your concep there can be no doubt that it would do not mention the war expendi-be vitally interested in exchanging whom you have imprisoned; since formula: either Fascism or Communism is absolutely correct but only in the final historic analysis. The destructive policy of the Communism supported by the authority of the workers' state has not only compromised revolutionary methods but has also given to the sales the League of Nations and against the counter-revolution, the sales to the capitalist of the sales given to the sales given t all countries were continually pil-tenance of internal safety. ing up armaments, that the ruling sued a policy of annexations, and that it would, therefore, be extremely unjust if the masses, having paid for these policies with miles. groups of all civilized nations purng paid for these policies with millions of lives and with economic the aid of American, English and Peasants' Revolutionary Govern-

ruin, should yet pay to those who French armed forces, to take the ment, from you—we finally propose are really responsible for the war factories from the workers and the to you, Mr. President, that you resulted in all these countless mist he American workers, inspired by lowing questions and give us preeries. We propose, therefore, Mr. your idea of a League of Nations, cise and definite replies: Do President, the annulment of the will crush the resistance of the governments of the United States. war loans as the basis of the American capitalists as we have England and France consent to League of Nations. As to the re- crushed the resistance of the Russtoration of the countries that were sian capitalists, then neither the Russian people until they agree to laid waste by the war, we believe German nor any other capitalists pay them a ransom such as a man should in this respect aid the un- victorious working class, and it pays to the one who attacked him? fortunate Belgium, Poland and Sib- will then suffice, if every member

Aims of the League of Nations But the League of Nations should when nations will no more be of encroachment and of super-profits

> "Expropriate the Capitalists" We propose, therefore, Mr. Presi-

to possess, into the hands of the masses of the world is all that would be required to destroy the

If you will agree to this, Mr

Appeal to American Workers

the feudal state. It is necessary to who were bringing them slavery for the cause of future peace. You ling the means of production, will is not yet taken by Eugene Debs,

News from Germany

. . . Little by little something a word about the E. C. C. I. o above all the confusion and from under the wreckage of the various been gathering material zealously, that does concern us seriously: that which they play the role of "the old experienced ones" who always

the same thing essentially as we do will be able to judge much better finite and precise questions we will remove your troops from Murmansk, aside from several stupidities and what it means. In general we say, draw the only possible conclusion slander. One stupidity: in their aside from the fundamental pol- -that we are justified in the assumopinion it was not the seizure of emics, that the whole hope placed ption that your government and the power that stood on the order of in the new leadership is a decep-governments of your Allies desire business but the conquest of the tive illusion, because Joseph can to get from the Russian people a majority of the working class; we not admit the mistakes in Germany tribute both in money and in nahad proposed opportunistic bloc pol- especially if we are to judge from tural resources of Russia, and terof the S. P. G. Above everything stage for most of them. serve fund which they seized in else they attack us on the question clined to think there is a good deal a reply from you will serve for us clined to think there is a good deal a reply from you will serve for us clined to think there is a good deal a reply from you will serve for us that you will forbid them of Thermidor without however takto continue as heretofore their acts ing any concrete position. Nothing of sympathy for us but a great as a silent reply. The Russian of pillaging and outrages against but platitudes. They issued a thou- thirst for material, especially with people will then understand that the workers and peasants during sand copies of this circular. In regard to questions of building the demands of your government

> putting themselves at the head of party apparatus. a universal rebellion in order to derail it, in order to hold together the last remnant of Stalinism and

We also hear that Piatnitsky has mansk Coast? . . .

cross-examining all people coming an attack against Heckert.

encourage their speedy departure, a limited number of solid function- won over several very important lies are so severe and vast that you aries around them; they are merely people from the middle and higher do not even communicate them to

terms, namely, that the Government to parade as the saviours in step The classes of the Brooklyn br which would conclude peace must with the strains of the E. C. C. I. of the International Workers School express the will of their people, you march music. In the circular they will begin Monday, Dec. 4th. Classre aware that our Government are very careful to cast all the es will begin at 8:00 P. M. and end

learning the use of arms, so that to overcome the internal menace.

And so, Mr. President, though we have had experience with your promises, we nevertheless accept as a with us, we have no objection to an open discussion of your peace terms", as the first point of your peace program demands. If you will accept our proposals as a basis, we will easily agree on the details. "Which Is the Real President?"

But there is another possibility. We have had dealings with the threatened with defeat, will leave in China and in Siberia; and that, president of the Archangel attack them free to put an end to the fearing competition from Japanese and the Siberian invasion and we system and the cliques that forced capitalists, they are preparing a have also had dealing with the upon mankind this universal slaugh- military force to overcome the re- president of the League of Nation's ter, and which will, in spite of sistance which they meet from Peace Program. Is not the first of Japan. You are no doubt aware of these—the real president—actually similar plans of the capitalists and directing the policies of the Amerruling circles of other countries ican capitalist Government? Is not with regard to other territories and the American Government rather a other peoples. Knowing this, you government of the American corsent in negotiation with even such will have to agree with us that the porations, of the American indusgovernments as do not yet express factories, mines and banks must strial, commercial and railroad the will of the people, we would not be left in the hands of private trusts, of the American banks—in fike on our part to find out from persons, who have always made use short, a government of the American you, Mr. President, in detail what of the vast means of production capitalists? And is it not possible is your conception of the League created by the masses of the people that the proposals of this governpeasants of Russia in November, of Nations, which you propose as to export products and capital to ment about the creation of a League the crowning work of peace. You foreign countries in order to reap of Nations will result in new chains counter-revolution which has al- demand the independence of Poland, super-profits in return for the bene- for the peoples, in the organization ready become a corpse, attempts Siberia, Belgium, and freedom for its forced on them, their stuggle of an international trust for the exto restore by force its bloody dom- the peoples of Austria-Hungary. for spoils, resulting in imperialistic ploitation of the workers and the this latter case. Mr. President, you will not be in a position to reply ters of their own fate in order to dent, that the League of Nations be to our questions, and we will say unite afterward in a league of free based on the exproportation of the to the workers of all countries: Benations. But strangely enough, we capitalists of all countries. In ware! Millions of your brothers, thrown at each other's throats by the liberation of Ireland; Egypt or banks and the industries are in the the bourgeoisie of all countries, India, nor even the liberation of the hands of such a small group of are still perishing on the battle Phillippines, and we would be very capitalists that, as your personal fields, and the capitalist leaders are already trying to come to an understanding for the purpose of suppressing with united forces those that remain alive, when they call to account the criminals who caused the war!

"Your Post Is Not Yet Taken by Debs."

However, Mr. President, since we do not at all desire to wage war against the United States, though your government has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissars and your post government of Merrheim: just as we We know very well that the have concluded peace with the ima tribute for their policies which land from the peasants. But, if take up with your Allies the folcease demanding the blood of the t is only just that all nations will be a serious menace to the who has been suddenly attacked If so, just what tribute do the governments of the United States, England and France demand of the Russian people? Do they demand concessions, that the railways, mines, gold deposits, etc., shall be handed over to them on certain conditions, or do they demand territorial concessions, some part of Siberia or Caucasia, or perhaps the Mur-"State Your Demands Clearly"

The Russian people, through the people's Red Army, are guarding (In the meantime Piatnitsky has fighting against your invasion and given birth to his scheme in the against the attacks of your Allies. form of a pamphlet "The present But your government and the govsituation in Germany" in which ernments of the other Powers of he admits several mistakes of the the Entente, undoubtedly, have well party to be sure, but only so as to prepared plans, for the sake of that does concern us seriously: that is the group of the conciliators, emphasize the absolute correctness which you are shedding the blood of its political line and tactics. Which you are shedding the blood of your soldiers. We will expect Thus the crusade against Heckert that you will state your demands has come as a sort of a second addi-clearly and definitely. Should we, tion of a Heckert resolution.—Ed.) however, be disappointed should That seems to be the hitch. You you fail to reply to our quite deas well as to the toiling masses of actuality to be sure, they have only further. (Trade Unions). We have and of the governments of your Al-

> gram of the Left Opposition-George Ray.

the Russian Government.

History of the Russian Revolu-

tion-Sam Gordon. ednesday Evenings: Fundament als of Marxism-Joe Carter. Principles of Communism-Max Geltman.

EDITORIAL

The Lynching Wave

In the outbreak of lynchings that swept the country, striking at three widely separated sections with the fury of a hurricane, an old American custom was repeated with some new and distinctive features which are of exceptional significance. In the present situation such orgies of mob violence as those in California, Maryland and Missouri do not fit into the old pattern.

Mob murder in itself is no novelty in the United States. In the South, as everybody knows, it is an established institution for the repression of the Negroes, operating all the time as an extra-legal supplement to the regular court procedure. In the North, also, lynching has been known before, but it is not "recognized" here as it is in the South and, except in isolated instances, has appeared only in connection with social disturbace.

The frenzied lynching bees of the recent days, however, had their scene in the northern part of the country, or on its border; white men as well as Negroes were victims; there was not one single lynching but three, and those in rapid succession; and the happenings precipitated a hysterical public controversy over the issue, with Governor Rolph, of Caiifornia, and other prominent people, including-God save the mark!—a New York preacher (who later recanted), openly condoning the bestial actions of the mob. It is clear that last week's lynchings had special features of their own; they represent a new and somewhat different phenomenon, and they arose from a special combination of causes.

The three lynchings did not occur merely because of popular revulsion at some crime of a particularly shocking nature. The California kidnapping was the match that set off the explosions of unrestained moronic hysteria and violence, but the explosive material itself for some kind of an eruption was already there. It consists of the unrest, and dissatisfaction of the people, primarily the ruined petty-bourgeois elements, their uncertainty and their sense of frustration which charge the social atmosphere like a levden jar.

All of this has been accumulating during the crisis years. It presses for outlet and may readily find it in strange, irrational and violent ways. The lynching hysteria which has swept the country derives from the same source as the fanatical millionheaded following of Father Coughlin, the demagogue priest. The real author is the social devastation wrought by the crisis.

The material out of which Fascist gangs, anti-Semitism, religious frenzies and moronic lynching mobs all may be set in motion is at hand in the social tension which produced three lynchings within a week. The material for the rapid development of a revolutionary labor movement is there also in the bitter discontent of the workers but a leading force capable of organizing it is so far lacking. The disintegration of the Communist movement aids the one-sided expression of the general mass of social discontent in a Fascist direction.

The popular support received by Governor Rolph, in his stand as the champion of the mob, is a significent indication of the extent to which public imagination was stirred by the San Jose lynching, and even of the widespread vicarious participation in it. Rolph, a demagogue of the first water, appears in this instance more as the reflector of petty-bourgeois mass prejudice and hysteria than as the authentic spokesman of the decisive sections of the ruling class. There is no foundation for the contention (Daily Worker, Nov. 30.) that the mob violence was deliberately unleashed at command of the big capitalists and that Rolph speaks in their name. They will come to such a policy in time, of this there is no room for doubt, but it is no part of their design at the present moment. Just the contrary, as an exion of the facts will show

The inflammatory utterances of Governor Rolph aroused a storm of controversy and revealed a division of opinion. This division, and its nature, must be perceived and understod, not ignored. The lynching governor was "showered with telegrams of approval". But, on the other hand, the capitalist press, led by the big New York dailies, and an imposing committee of "citizens", headed by ex-president Hoover, condemned him. The real present sentiment of the big capitalists was indubitably expressed by them. And for good reasons.

Unrestrained mob action is a dangerous fire to play with under the present conditions. The leading exploiters will not lightly instigate it. They do not feel the need of it yet. Mob hysteria might easily express itself in a different direction under the slightst incitement. As long as the rulers feel themselves secured by the legal processes of repression they will not deliberately encourage extra-legal mob actions. That is why the most authoritative representatives of capital frowned on Rolph's condonement

The psychological factors for a rapid transformation of the social conflict out of the realm of legality and parliamentarism into that of open mass violence and for the lightning-like emergence of a revolutionary movement on the one side and a fascist movement on the other, have an exceptional strength in America; they are rooted in the tradition of the country as well as in the conditions of the present. The American people of all classes, by and large, have very little regard for "law and order" when it stands in the way of something they really want to do. (The almost universal disregard of the prohibitory law is an interesting illustration of this attitude on a wide

American labor history has been written in struggle violent and bloody. Many a strike took the form of armed conflict; few pass without violent clashes. On the other hand, the American capitalists never hesitated to go outside the bounds of their own legality when the exigencies of the class struggle required it. Frank Little was killed by lynchers. So also was Wesley Everest and many other labor militants. The radical workers were dragooned into support of the war or bludgeoned into silence by unofficial lynching mobs which supplemented the legal compulsion of the state authority. A good half or whatsoever, responded to the strike had send in. We resented placing arbitration when finally the bosses more of the brutal violence against the workers in call, with enthusiasm and militancy. our fate in their hands. strikes is the work of unofficial thugs and gunmen. The courage of the women strikers When the two main classes in this country get ready for they composed the bulk of the to settle accounts, and long before they come to the strikers, is a story that marks a final account, the "legal" frame-work of the struggle will have been shattered to bits.

The reservoir of mass violence in America is a huge one, and the events of the past week have demonstrated how easily it can be tapped, and with what unbridled fury it can rage. The mob of humans turned into wild beasts who mutilated and killed the two helpless prisoners at San Jose, and that far bigger mob of vicarious participants who applauded them from afar, have presented a spectacle of menacing implications to the labor movement.

The same mobs can be directed against the workers. They are the material out of which the murderous bands of Fascism can be organized when the big exploiters feel the need of them. The working class had every reason to take alarm at the spread tration. Of all the International of lynching and to raise a mighty protest against Ladies' Garment Workers' Union every official condonement of it. But the bare ap leadership, Lutsky is the only one peal from mob violence to ordered legal processesthe sum and substance of liberal and socialist agitation-does not touch the heart of the issue. The problem is rooted in the social conditions of the class society just as the whole oppressive system of class justice is. The same class forces which administer the "law" need only to sense a danger to their rule in order to organize and bribe the dregs of society and hurl them against the workers with unrestrained violence. To rely solely on capitalist legal forms of illegal mass violence is to clear the way railroad workers are divided into exception to this general rule, and were affected. These 60% were to pers of Alabama were stirring in for the latter. Under different circumstances the 21 separate and independent or this is in the Railroad Unions themforce behind each is the same.

The movement of Fascism does not come into were first to organize at Detroit, membership towards needed chang- the dress code. The rest of the inexistence at the command of the capitalists. It Michigan in 1863, the Conductors es both as to program and structure dependent shops continued on strike has made some interesting obserexistence at the command of the capitalists. It arises out of the conditions created by capitalism at a certain stage of its disintegration as a social and economic system. Its troops, for the greater part, are conditions created by capitalism at came next in 1873, and the Brake-men launched their union in 1883.

As the other seventeen crafts emmeans nothing to a craft union Disorganization of Union

Disorganization of Union the petty bourgeois elements, ruined and driven to ployed on the railroads matured for official who is able to draw a salary frenzy by the crisis. The movement is aimed, at its organization the fell in line one af- of \$15,000 a year by keeping the inception, against big capital as well as against the ter the other until the railroad railroad worker tied to the craft labor movement. The former take over the move workers found themselves with one system. ment and hurl it against the workers if the latter in the industry. do not show sufficient strength to crush the movement of Fascism and gain the support of the pettybourgeois masses for their revolutionary program.

These fundamental considerations should be kept in mind in connection with the various manifestations the interest of its members, when articles on this topic we will try of incipient Fascism in America. The revolutionary the railroad corporations were small to point out the several progressions were small to progressions with the several progression were small to progressions were small to progressions with the several progression were small to progressions which were small to progressions with the several progression were small to progressions with the several progression were small to progressions with the several progression labor movement and the movement of Fascism both and each one putting up an inde- sive minority movements which are grow out of the same social conditions. The de-pendent struggle for its own existvastating crisis of American capitalism has prepared sent developments is the increasing number of signs | Locations have increased in size | Total direction on a proper program | Total direction on a proper proper program | Total direct that the restless and dissatisfied petty bourgeois ele-ments are finding expression in various ways which, Trains have been lengthened in article "On the Railroad Brothertaken together, lead in the direction of a Fascist about the same manner. Repair hoods" we urge other railroad work- and antagonized the workers by movement. The lynching orgy of the past week was and maintenance work have been ers to contribute articles through their dualism. undoubtedly such a sign—one of many. Of the revimproved and modernized by a the columns of the Militant on the olutionary counter-movement among the masses there is hardly a trace. * * * * * *

with so much danger to the working class, the con- transportation, such as Motor and ideas is forbidden by gaglaws. the object the restoring of the morditions themselves are not to blame. All the objectation, sach as larger than all of the members a difficult one. tive requisites for the speedy development of a revolutionary movement in the working class have been maturing under the enormous pressure of the crisis. What is lacking to organize it and set it on its feet is a revolutionary Communist party. The disintegration brought into the movement by Stalinism has taken a fearful toll. Stalinism has destroyed the Communist Party. We must build a new one without delay. This is the imperative warning sounded again in the events of the past week.

L. A. Needle Trades Strike

(Continued from page 1) adoption in order to "make it easier for our union members to do their work in the shops. Los Angeles has been so long unorganized we dressmakers must be content with whatever we can get" Which promediately for the closed shop.

win. The leadership was forced to the question of union recognition, call a strike, and did so on October inasmuch as the bosses conceded

Turn-Out of Strikers

From the first the turn-out of the turn in the history of labor union- was forced to expose his hand. First, ion recognition. ism in Los Angeles. Scabs in other he explained that the acceptance

In the midst of such militancy sent to the union and the bosses by the NRA officials.

of the Left wing leader of the cloakmakers, I. Lutsky, voted for arbi-

militant policy with militant ac-, them that night. In the midst of tion and because of which was the uproar which greeted Feinberg's

a consistently militant strike would only question to be arbitrated was them to the arbitration board. our successful turn-out and our

in a position to demand union recognition and the closed shop. Add cuvers" and to ask for a vote of workers was remarkable. Thou to that also, public opinion and the sands of workers, unorganized, un-admission of the NKA Board that sent voted confidence in the leadeducated, 60% Mexican and 90% they were powerless to act on the ership. The strike committee was with no understanding of unionism hundreds of coded violations we powerless to act on the question of

industries will do well to remember was only a maneuver and that the the experiences of the scabs in this question would never come to arbitration because the bosses would never agree. He explained that the strike committee was not so to admit that no matter what the content to take a little at a time instead of stubbornly insisting for

The Reactionaries' "Maneuver" The stupidity of the bosses, for who has consistently fought for a tunately for the leadership, saved

lall their demands.

The Railroad Brotherhoods

Craft Divisions of R.R. Workers

forced by the leadership to stay announcement, the morning papers out of the dressmakers' strike and were brought in with the declaratake care solely of the cloakmakers. tion of the bosses refusing to arbi-Workers Against Arbitration At the strike committee meeting and Berg were able to crow, "I told that night, it was clearly seen that you so, our maneuvers were cornantly and unanimously voted the sentiment of the members of rect!", forgetting that the work

against and demanded a strike im- the strike committee was overwhelmingly against arbitration. It no mere maneuver but a direct or-The season was almost over. Only was pointed out by them that the der from New York witch sent Taking full advantage of the situation, realizing it was a matter of 12, after wasting three precious our other demands, and union re- hours before the bosses accepted weeks, and laying plans in the cognition was the one point which the aribtration, the leadership callmeanwhile for the further carrying should not have been arbitrated. On ed a mass meeting of the strikers out of their class-collaboration pol- the basis of our militant struggle, for the next afternoon. Allowing no one on the floor, they triumph-

financial resources, as yet, we were antly came to the membership to prove the correctness of their "manaccepted and a group of "fair In the face of these arguments minded citizens" were chosen to

Arbitration Dampens Militancy

From the day the Arbitration Board met, can be marked the de cline of the militancy and the low ering of the morale of the strikers ing, an invitation to arbitrate was easily hood-winked. Feinberg had "peaceful". When you see scabs At this first call, the bosses re-fused—but not so the leadership of the strikers. In such base, were was, he had orders from New York by you are instructed to peacefully the N. Y. Herald-Tribune of last the strikers. In such haste were they collaborate, they called to submit to arbitration and that and meekly allow them to do so, Sunday, "to 1932, 3,745 persons they to collaborate, they called to is what was going to be done. He such that and meekly allow them to do so, Sunday, "to 1932, 3,745 persons your spirit is broken and with it have been killed by mass violence attempted to calm the workers came a breaking down of the2,954 were Negroes"). The ecutive committee of the strike and somewhat he committee of the strike and somewhat h

> When after a week of arbitrabecame cowed.

After two weeks of arbitration. the dress code was received and on the basis of the code, a "truce" be- the rest of the Scottsboro boys tween bosses, represented by the dramatizes vividly and with strik-Manufacturers' Association that ing clarity the social roots of the participated on the Arbitration Lynch madness. The original frame-Board, and the Union was made up, as is well-known, took place at Approximately 60% of the strikers a time when the black share-cropgo back to the shops on the basis of revolt. The Boss class and its libthe status quo existing 4 days be-

When the workers came back they were met with closed doors. The bosses pleading the slow season, refused to take the militant workers back into the shops. Workwere being discriminated series of short articles. which we against even more now than be-This form of organization was hope to contribute to the Militant, fore the strike. They have lost naturally a progressive force as between our working hours, on the time and wages and are rewarded with a disorganized union.

> All during the strike the Industrial Union played their usual secthe Industrial Union, contributed little militancy on the picket line,

The class-collaboration policies of

trate, and Feinberg, and Pesotta

cupying the center of public attention. The mob murder of the Clarke kidnappers at San Jose and its public condonement by California's Governor Rolph brought on its trail a wave of repercussions in mass sentiment. The spectacle of a "law and order" representative endorsing this highest expression of social lawlessness could not help bringing a new courage and new verve to the dregs of American society engaged in the barbarian pastime. Aside from the repetition in St. Joseph, Missouri and the liberation of the Maryland mobsters, there were just as serious reactions of a more general, wide-spread character.

Notes of the

Week

LYNCHING IS once again oc-

The Atlanta, Georgia correspondent of the New York Times has the following to report on the subject:

"When Rolph's praise of Lynching was printed, sentiments in line with the following utterances indicate the reaction of certain groups: 'California's my new address now', 'Let's send all the niggers to California', 'That California man oughter be President, etc."

The tragic heroes of most of the Lynching bees in American history have been Negroes for the greater walking into your shops, escorted part. ("From 1889, when records with only one dissenting vote, that somewhat by urging them to be picket-line and the vigilance of the mob act has ever been a weapon of strike terror into the doubly extion, the strikers were again or-ploited masses of dark-skinned toildered to be militant, few strikers ers. By his conduct of the "legal" responded to the call for no one trial of Heywood Patterson, ruling felt like going to jail when the class Judge Calluhan assured all strike was already out of their his fellow barbarians that it will hands. What few were militant were sent to jail and the strikers became cowed.

The was already out of their not be necessary for them to "Send all the Niggers to California" to be lynched.

> THE TRIAL of Patterson and eral agencies are well aware of the social basis of the mob-murder phenomenon. The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching

In its reports, the Commission investigates the circumstances that lead a crowd of people into the killer frenzy against the Negroes. Some hair-brained professors, it seems, explained "it all" as a sort of mid-summer madness. Lynchings do, to be sure, occur more often in the Summer than in the other seasons, the commission explains, but

"Working and living out of doors in warm weather, midsummer unemployment, landlord-tenant relations in summer. and other factors greatly modify any all-weather explanation... During the summer months, af ter cultivating is done and harvesting begins, there is little to occupy the time of Negro and white workers on Southern farms...Manhunts and lynchings—afford an avenue of emotional escape from a life so drab and unilluminated that any alternative is welcomed".

The honorable Commission has, willy-nilly, hit the nail on the head: "landlord-tenant relations"-that is what makes the Negro share-cropper the butt of the Lynch organizers. "A life so drab that any alternative is welcomed"—that is what makes the poor whites, declassed proletarians, the instrument in the hands of the landlord Lynch organizers. Can the basis of this species of human rabies be abolished without abolishing the system of boss class dominance which nur-tures it? Can the disgrace of Lynching be wiped out in this country without a working class movement to do away with a "life so drab that any alternative is welcomed"?

That is what every sincere fighter against Lynching must ask himself. The workers for their part must make the organized mass protest against Lynch-exponent Rolph and Legal-Lyncher Callahan a forefront ask of their class battle. —G....n.

TERZANI TRIAL POSTPONED WHEN 'GENERAL' SMITH FAILS TO APPEAR

Trial of Athos Terzani, accused of killing his anti-Fascist comrade, Anthony Fierro, was postponed until Dec. 11 when the prosecution declared it was unable to produce its chief witness. Commander Art J. Smith of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America. The court was told that a subpoena had been served on Smith in Baltimore but that he had refused to testify.

Dist. Atty Charles S. Colden asked Judge Thomas C. Kadien for time in which to get Smith to appear "by whatever means possible". Opposing this motion, Arthur Garfield Hays, chief of defense counsel, declared there was every reason to believe that Smith would never come to testify against Terzani. He isked Colden to agree to call for dismissal of the indictment if Smith is still missing when the case comes SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB up again, but Colden refused to do OF MONTREAL this.

ganizations, in other words, one or- ehlves. Their leadership have so

As is quite generally known, the Transportation we find one notable union on their hands for each craft

New Methods of Transportation

For this one-sided development, which is fraught orship interlocked. Other modes of To print and distribute your own lizing a Left wing in the union with and the Panama Canal.

and development in the field of

ganization for each craft employed far been able to successfully resist fore the strike and were to receive in the industry. The Engineers every impulse on the part of the wages and conditions stipulated in First of Series of Articles

The above is but a prelude to a ers

long as it was able to function in Railroad Brotherhoods. In future ence. But things have changed the railroad unions and contribute tarian role. Instead of participatconsiderably since 1863, when the what we can towards coordinating ing in the International as class Locomotives have increased in size right direction on a proper program. blustering of their membership in

ing machinery. The small railroads and their solution. Our own Jour-portunism of the Lovestoneites, the have been merged into gigantic sys- nals and Labor are closed to the dualist sectarianism of the Stalintems. Their ownership and direct ideas of the progressive minority, ists makes the problem of crystalto say nothing about Pipe Lines ity Movement with a minority press Yet the class conscious members in the Railroad Brotherhoods. Use of the union must courageously set However, amongst all this change the Militant to promote these ends. their compass in that direction.

—A. E. —F. W

Statement on Montreal Anti-Fascist Couference

Working Class Organizations.

At the 3rd session of the Antito bring that fight right into the naut. It is woven of the sufferings the delegates of the Left Opposicourtroom we give the judge a of thousands more, of Mooney and tion and Spartacus Youth Club were expelled. This was brought about by the Stalinists who are in con-If the working class will inscribe trol of the conference and who on its banner the immediate, hn from its beginning made every efconditional and safe release of the fort to hush the voice of the Left Scottsboro boys, and organize to Opposition delegates going even to Without losing any more time we fight for their freedom they can be ave got to change this strategy. set free.

T. STAMM.

the extent of trying to throw them out bodily before the first session out bodily before the first session opened. This is the conduct of people whose policies have been There are four million organized in S. W.P. Workers Get proclaimed bankrupt by living experience itself, who having no arguproclaimed bankrupt by living ex-

where he is now.

"This inhuman treatment was in an Defense Organization....

the Anti-Fascist and Free Speech pelled to resort to such miserable Fascist threat remains. The inter-Conference in Montreal, To All measures to suppress a criticism nal consolidation of their ranks is they cannot bear.

in Germany before Hitler came to party. Fascist and Free Speech Conference power proclaimed that there was no distinction at all between a capitalist democratic regime and Fascism. that it was impossible to form a united front with the Social Dem- for freedom of speech and organizaocrats against Hitler, that the so-tion and against Fascism, while cialists were Fascists and he who guaranteeing the right of each orquestioned such wisdom was a ganization to express its criticism Fascist himself. It was these same in a constructive manner. We will Stalinists whose senseless policies fight for the formation of such a rendered Hitler the greatest service united front whether along the lines who served him as a lever without of reforming the present conference the aid of which it would have or if it should prove necessary by been impossible for him to raise himself to power.

At present the conference is reduced to a Stalinist family gatherracks, and left there for days on ing thanks to their strangulating stone floor suffering serious con- hold on it. The three sessions held cussion of the brain without med-up to now have shown a sharp and cal treatment. It is not known progressive decline in attendance. The theories spun by the Stalinists "With such methods the 'confes- to the effect that one must become sions' were obtained. The Court a Communist before being able to "By these methods, in most cases, did not trouble to bring additional fight Fascism are a rehashing of proof of guilt. Some of the pris- the Red United Front-that notorieved. There was no differnce in oners sentenced as S. A. P.ers were ious united fronting with ourselves never mebmers of the party, being that led to the German catastrophe. social democrats, social democratic If this is what the Stalinists want youth, or members of the Republic-then they have succeeded. The conference is, at present, a hulk "Considering the demagogy of the void of anything but Stalinist faith-

court, their law, their judge. WE workers in mass meetings, demon- was arrested with others. After an single one of the accused spoke a However, there exists an urgent are there on sufferance because of strations, parades, in every form of unsuccessful attempt to escape he word against his former leaders, need for an anti-Fascist and free the hard fight we put up for two protest that is known to the work- was beaten up until he broke down, and that a young worker was cour- speech conference in Montreal. Alstreaming with blood. Then he was ageous enough to defend the re- though the Fascist attacks on work

To All Organizations Affiliated to ments at their disposal, are com-the time being, nevertheless, the taking place. Efforts are being It was these same Stalinists who made to organize a closely-knit

> Against this many-sided attack upon the workers a genuine united front of the working class is needed with a program of united struggle calling a second one.

The puny bureaucrats of Stalinism are far from all-powerful. Before an influx of working bodies into the conference their tsrangulating grip should be definitely broken. We call upon the Verdun Workers' Association to take alarm at the abuse of the conference called by them, on the part of the Stalinists. We call upon workers organizations of every descrpition to enter the conference and fight

> Against Fascism! For Free Speech! For a Genuine United Front! For the Reinstatement of the Expelled Left Opposition De-

International Left Opposition (Montreal Branch)

MassFight Needed in Scottsboro Case is stained with the blood of Sacco and Vanzetti, with the blood of Sacco

(Continued from page 1) the way they have been kept alive blood lust of the bourbon tiger.

There is no other way.

That is where the defense made a major strategical mistake. The mass movement which has kept the boys alive for almost three years has been allowed to die down. Here and there they get up a demonstration, but the militancy and the numbers of the early days of

the movement are gone.
Playing Down Class Issue The policy of playing down the class nature of the case was carried out in the courtroom. There was no talk of the misery of the southern workers which drove the nine hove to roam the country on freight trains looking for work to suppledrudgery eked out. No word was mediate, unconditional and safe rethe desired 'confessions' were ach said of the frightful oppression of the negro masses. It was all a strictly legal question with the de-

years on three continents to save ing class.

thus far. That is the only way chance to put on a show of a fair the historic though, so far, unsucthey can be snatched free from the trial, we thereby say in effect that the capitalists are right, that justice is above the classes equal and impartial.

Change of Strategy Needed have got to change this strategy. set free.

If the boys are to be saved the workers must be mobilized. How? the A. F. of L. There are a million in the railroad brotherhoods, several thousands more in the T. U. U. L., I. W. W., independent unions Socialist Party, Communist Party, etc. There are a number of defense organizations. We think that all brought in together and had to witter these organizations should be liess their comrades' torture, even asked to come together in one united being compelled to beat each other. front movement to fight for the imlease of the Scottsboro boys.

ences are organized we will be whether they were young or old, fense. At least that is how they there to participate in the work. men or women.... And we are going to insist on one On the legal plane it is all in thing; the first duty of the move- creased in some cases.... A 23 yearfavor of the capitalists. It is their ment is the mobilization of the old toolsmith—Gerhard Schwenke— Court, it is admirable that not a fuls.

hundreds and thousands of its sons and daughters, done to death under life imprisonment. When we fail the wheels of the capitalist jugger-

Long Term Sentences

(Continued from Page 1)

When the united front confer- the treatment of the accused,

these innocent boys from death or The banner of the working class thrown into the cellar of the bar-sponsible leaders of his partx.... ers organizations have subsided for