WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITA E



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The Industrial Control Bill

Workers Must Organize Against State Capitalism

dustrial Control Bill was no sur- ist or otherwise, into private busiprise to the industrialists. Before ness, will wreck our industrial systhe bill became law three confertem and eliminate fair competition? ences of the railroad presidents, the coal operators and the iron and steel men were held in Chicago. Long before President Roosevelt else than an instrument of supsigned the bill, the new adminis- pression used by the dominating trator, H. S. Johnson, was busy at economic group. The only differwork on his job as the head of in- ence is that in the past the reladustrial control. Within the first tionship was more disguised only week after the bill became law five in emergencies, in wars, and in the major industrial groups, which, in period of decay capitalism is the renormal times employ two-thirds of lationship of the economic masters the workers of America, were in and the government office boys session working out their industrial stripped naked before us.

The iron and steel, soft coal, automobile, oil and textile bosses are busy planning how they can increase profits under the terms of the bill. The twenty leading manufacturers of oil burners have already drafted their industrial code and sent it to Washington for approval. The railroad presidents commenced the good work with an announcement of a 22 1-2 percent wage cut.

The Industrial Control Bill which is accredited to Roosevelt, was, in financiers and industrialists. Their inois is shown by the reports pubdemocratic office boys, headed by Roosevelt, only carry out their orders. The Industrial Control Bill is a necessary step to tighten up the decaying structure of capitalism at home. It is aimed to hurry concentration to enable the American imperialists to obtain a position of advantage in the intense and bitter international economic prevent meetings, the miners and bands in the parade in the interest and military struggle for world their wives gather in their thoumarkets and trade advantages. The sands to discuss their problems. small producers and others who will The whole of the mining territory be eliminated in the process are opposed to the bill, as are a handful seethes with agitation and action. Seven miners and one miner's wife of capitalists. The competition and have paid with their lives for the anarchy of capitalist production crime of organizing and fighting will be "organized" on a higher for a union of their choice. level. However, the leading section, and the real rulers of the country were behind the bill. Those who put up a howl, such as the merchants and manufacturers, were Frankfort, Ill., and his henchmen not objecting to the bill, but to the forcibly and brutally dispersed section which gives lip service to members of the Women's Auxiliary ployment Relief Committee will an account before the whole workthe workers' interests. There are of the P. M. A. drill team which a section of the open shoppers who was practising on a base ball dia- little comment in the bourgeois trated against the German and the continue to speak plain English. mond in that city. With no pro-They are not yet familiar with the vocation whatsoever the uniformed admission of the failure of "private tense months and weeks preceding new kind of talk, copied from the thugs charged the women, levelled charity" would be too much to ex- the seizure of power by Hitler. European reformers—a language the vilest curses at them, slapped pect. Nevertheless, it is now clearly SLUG. BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS! which gives lip service to the work- them, pointed a machine gun at evident that the bourgeoisie is uners' interest everytime a new attack their children and ordered them to willing to shoulder the expense of gress in the Grange-Aux-Belles (Red

The Industrial Control Bill, as a form of state capitalism, is a desperate attempt to find a way out of the contradictions which engulf capitalism. Traylor, the La Salle Street banker, speaking before the soft coal operators in convention at the Drake Hotel in Chicago, where achieved in struggle. It is in the more profits said, "the program of that the artificial barriers of race the new administration is an effort and color will melt like so much to save ourselves from annihila- ice on a hot summer day. We quote tion." "There is more security in the following simple, eloquent testimic crisis, followed by further front! the new deal, whatever that may mony of this fact from a letter be, than there is in the communism written to the Progressive Miner, of Russia, which might be our program if we failed in the old standpat program which you and I be-

economists and the rest of their Negroes said that this was the first to a starvation sentence for the unliers that the "planned economy" is time white and colored folks had employed. to inaugurate an era of "fair com- ever mixed here. They said that petition". But have not these apo- they were glad to find some people logists for capitalism informed us who didn't discriminate and lived

The speedy adoption of the In-|governmental interference, capital-Industry and government always were partners and always will be because government can be nothing

> The conferences already held, and what little has leaked out from them, clearly indicate the line of (Continued on Page 4)

Mass Meeting! Germany Under Hitler

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Fascist Dictatorship in Action—The Condition of the Social Democracy—The Communist Party and the Trade Unions

Speaker:

ARNE SWABECK

Just arrived from a visit to Ger many and to comrade Trotsky. Stuyvesant Casino Second Avenue and 9th Street THURSDAY, JUNE 29th at 8 P .M.

ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

III. Miners in Mass Action Women's Auxiliary Takes Valiant Part in Struggle

The militant mass character of the strikes, demonstrations and meetings of the Progressive Miners reality, originated by the leading and the Women's Auxiliary of Illlished week by week in the Pro- Union slain by Lewis and Peabody gressive Miner. The headlines tell the story: "2000 at Pekin Meet", "McDonald Addresses 6,000 at militant labor in the United States, Springfield", "5.000 in Women's was murdered in the gun battle Parade", "Allard speaks to 5,000 at that took place when scabs attemptthe process of centralization and Gillespie", "15,000 Miners Move ed to operate a mine struck by the Onto Franklin County", etc., etc.

Everywhere except in those places where the armed National Guards Horner, prohibited all banners and

MINERS WOMEN A SERIOUS "MENACE" IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

The chief of police of West were arrested for the "horrible" unemployed workers. crime of marching around on a ball field. Several were beaten. A monument to the "freedom of assemblage" in America.

NO RACE DISCRIMINATION HERE

We have always contended that wife from Saline County, Ill.

"About two weeks ago we went to for the last score of years that any up to their union obligations.

10,000 MINERS IN FUNERAL

CORTEGE 10,000 miners marched in the funeral cortege of Thomas Urbon, nember of the Progressive Miners gunmen, in Springfield, Ill. Thomas Urbon, martyr to the cause of Progressive Miners of America. The "democratic" governor of Illinois, of "law and order".

Stop All Jobless Relief

press. And for good reason. Open international proletariat in the

ing not from our great philanthro- direct leadership of outstanding party" (Austrian Nazis). pists but from employed workers. French bureaucrats.

drastic wage reductions, a militant NEVERTHELESS-OUR VOICE spirit developed among the workers, IS HEARD! organ of the P. M. A. by a miner's many refusing to continue the weekly payments. Confronted with a dilemma, the bourgeoisie character-

> of relief distribution, the Tammany politicians.

> Such a prospect must be doubly alluring to the jobless of this city, especially in view of the attitude of the bankers on governmental economies. To expect the bourgeoisie to submit to additional taxa-

announced last Tuesday night that The Philadelphia Branch has been if the city's revenues "broke down," working class policy to fight the

> way that the emergency can be met. -D. BELLOWS.

LeftOpposition Excluded at Anti-Fascist Congress

On June 4 and 5, the European Anti-Fascist Congress, many times delayed and postponed, was finally held in the Salle Pleyel at Paris. The Daladier government had re fused permission to hold the meet ing anywhere outside of the well known Communist halls. The re stricted nature of the congress, lacking a broad working class base, lid not allow for a mass protest Nazi terror! and pressure to force the concession from the government to hold the convention in full view of the

Parisian proletariat. The "free lancers"—the Radical deputy Bergery; the novelists Anlre Gide, Victor Marguerite, Henri Barbusse, the professors Prenant and Nejedly, etc .- naturally dominated the scene. The Stalinist Comintern bureaucracy, which improvised the whole affair, kept well duration.

"DAILY WORKER" ON

ter of the whole business, is the reaction of the Stalinist press to t. The Daily Worker, for instance, with a first page account, but respeaks enough for the bureaucracy's power. As a nurse raises a child and no more. own lack of confidence in their do-

LEFT OPPOSITION EXCLUDED! The International Left Opposition was officially excluded from the sessions. Behind the scenes, the bureaucracy built up an entire apparatus whose business it was to ee that the Left Opposition's voice be stifled, no matter from what quarter it may come. Direct reports are still forthcoming and it is not yet definitely known whether the Bolshevik-Leninists gained access by round-about-ways or not But from the preliminaries attending the meet, a distinct impression mar be gathered of the fierce in-The announcement that on Sep- tent of Stalinism not to permit the tember 30th, the Emergency Unem- Left Opposition to force it to give discontinue its activities receives ing class of the crimes it perpe-

At a regional Anti-Fascist Con-

the solidarity between the white firms in New York had followed the Paris, not only were the delegates vacillation from distant allies or in all respects. As usual, reform- England and France. Five days and Negro workers will be best policy of "requesting" their employ- from the Left Opposition excluded, near allies. That is, from the Bay ism wrongly estimated its forces in after the conference started, this ees to make weekly donations to but bona fide trade union and mass arian Catholics or from Hugen-this case too. The S. P. G. has real and small committee disbandthey were planning how to make impact struggle against the bosses the unemployment fund. These were organization representatives susmainly of small amounts, running pected of solidarity with the views from 10 cents to 50 cents per week. Of the Left Opposition were barred propaganda—not only in word but It placed faith only in the omni-With the deepening of the econo- from the hall. Stalinist united in deed. Nazi bomb factories have

It remained for a member of the press. Young Communist League of France to take the floor for a presentation attend a colored funeral and they istically faces the problem: disband of the views of the Left Opposition. the Hitlers and the Hugenburgs We are informed by the bourgeois honored us to the full extent. The the committee! This is equivalent That was entirely unexpected and are not yet completely ironed out consternation reigned in the ranks The social and political aspirations employed.

So as to make a pretense of con
of the bureaucracy. Before the of each still represent varying young orator could conclude his phases of dominant class interests. tinuing the work, a good deal is remarks with a declaration of consaid about coordinating public and crete proposals put forward by the private charities, with emphasis on L. O., the bureaucracy organized a has been and he is marching forthe former. Everything will be left monstrous noise throughout several ward on the path of reaction with in the hands of the past masters parts of the hall to drown out his voice. His counter-resolution received two votes, the Stalinist mas-

querade was not entirely airtight. WHY THE TERROR AGAINST THE LEFT OPPOSITION?

Why the terror against the Left speeches is sufficient for illumina- reason to doubt that they are, has tariat has passed away in a sani- the heroic Spartacus League in tion on this point. The German de-learned nothing from the past. legate Mueller, shoved to the forefront by the bureaucratic impressarios, had the following to say:

A FÁBRIC OF LIES

(Continued from Page 1)

Meet on Union Square

tant workers all over the United States will come out in the streets and demonstrate their solidarity with their German fellow workers tortured under the bloody heel of Hitler's Fascist rule. This demonstration, called by the United Front Anti-Fascist Committee in conjunction with various language groups, must cry out its answer to the bestial oppression of the naked capitalist dictatorship in Germany. Down with the

The Left Opposition calls upon its members and sympathizers to be on hand in the demonstrations throughout the country and in New York on Union Square on Saturday, June 24th at 2 P. M., in the common protest against German Fascism, All out! Down with German Fascism!

All Out to Anti-Nazi Danger Signals Flash Meet on Union Square On Saturday, June 24, the milliat London Conference

War to Solve Crisis Nears as Contradictions Sharpen. Imperialists Wrangle Over Tariff, Prices, Markets. Hugenberg Betrays Real Plans -- to Attack USSR.

Although the London Economic theoretically possible peaceful al-Conference has been in progress for ternatives, and by bringing interreasonable, peaceful international of the coming imperialist war. agreement, and the bull-headed determination of American imperialism to smash through every obstacle to obtain its ends.

In view of the high tension of the world crisis on all fronts-economic, political, social, militarythis means that the London Confer-

of setting for itself. It was too

only two weeks, it has already national conflicts of interest before given ample proof of two things: an international arena, will constithe breakdown of the illusions of tute a long step in the preparation The keynote of the conference-

intrigue, treachery, a nauseous hypocrisy, and the naked violence of an accomplished fact-was given before it started, when Roosevelt took America off the gold standard while MacDonald was on his way to Washington, thus breaking the ence, by exhausting some of the strongest weapon in the British armory, the stabilized depreciation of the pound sterling in terms of the deilar. England replied after MacDonald had left, with a preferential trade agreement with Argentimonious talk about increasing the freedom of international trade.

America, which had insisted on putting the question of German reparations on the agenda at the Lausanne conference last year, refused to permit the war debts to be discussed in London; as if a own lack of connence in their do-ings. No decisions of any value were adopted, no discussion of fundamentals was permitted. Cere-mony and flowery speeches—there is the sum total of the results

so did the Social Democracy raise Fascism. From 1914 to Hitler's accession, the S. P. G. bore direct responsibility for the policy of the German bourgeoisie in regards to the German masses. Its occasional schieved by it side the S. P. G. was one of the ing the question of war debts on curiosities frequently occuring in to the table, quickly followed by the history of the Weimar republic. Jung of Italy. Hull of the Amer-However, the S. P. G. was the ican delegation held over his speech state party. It was the party of for twenty-four hours during which the Weimar republic. The "work the threat of possible withdrawal of Weimar" was condemned to de by America hung over the conferstruction, and with it the S. P. G. ence.

proceeded to its end. Nobody has Matters were patched up enough so clearly formulated the task of to permit of the organization of the social democracy as Tarnow at | the conference into two committees, the Leipzig party convention. Its one on currency and the other on job, according to him, was to act economics. The composition of the as doctor at the sickbed of the committees alone indicates how capitalism. Indeed, the Tarnows, little seriously the conference itthe Welses, the Severings, have self took their activities. The The Hitler-Hugenburg rift has guarded the sick patient solicitous chairman of the currency commitly, but they could not cure him. tee is a provincial Ohio politician, Especially is this so when simult- Even their medicine of the "lesser James M. Cox. The economic comneous with the raids on Hugen- evil" was of no avail, and the mittee consists of representatives burg's Green Shirts the Nazis also ungrateful patient sent his Fascist of Holland, Argentina and Gerraided the office of the Bavarian bouncer, Hitler, to break the head many. England is represented on G. And so the medical career of The real negotiations all this

At least in so far as the raids the Social Democracy came to an time have been taking place behind the scenes. While the pretentious upon the working class is to be disperse. One woman and five men even the beggarly sops thrown to Trade Union Headquarters of cerned an official communique de-Paris), Left Oppositionists, delectared: "Leading personalities of such an extreme example of heed-ping with international good-will As a matter of fact, however, the gates from the Ligue Communiste bulk of the funds for this work, as and local unions were forcefully the Bavarian Peoples party were lessness and helplessness as the were going on at the conference, "struggle" of the S. P. G. against a little committee having nothing to class conscious workers probably unseated and disgracefuly battered Austria, especially with the sup- Fascism. Not only was the S. P do with the conference was fightrealized a long time ago, was com- by sluggers organized under the pression of the National Socialist G. incapable of showing how to ing grimly and silently behind the fight against Fascism; it did every- scenes for the real decisions. It The Nazis mean serious business thing in its power to prove that consisted of the governors of the For the past several years many At a second regional meet in in Austria. They will tolerate no it could take the place of Hitler central banks of the United States,

In the same way the wheat conbeen discovered in Austria. Dolfuss, reaucratic apparatus could gag before the "big show" started. Like It could not, however, deceive the ests; as the bourgeois press rebourgeoisie, and it did not have the ports, it only exhibited "the hesitastrength to choke and gag Fasc- tions of the Australian and Canadian wheat growers, the apprehen-Even if the social democratic sions of the Polish and French peaapparatus did not believe in the sants, the grievances of the Argendurability of their collaborationist tine live stock producers, the conpolicy, they believed at least in the cern of Italy and other countries inner value of a policy of class to reserve their internal markets toleration. To them the thought of for their own farmers".

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in the background during its entire duration. S.P.G. Vote Shakes 2nd Int'l

Significant for the sham charac- May 17, 1933: A Comparison With Aug. 4, 1914 tina that gave the lie to its sanc-

The policy of coalition and tol- closely bound to the decadent state did not even dignify the congress erance, ever typical of the Social-apparatus of the German Republic. ist Party of Germany, found an The forces of the social democracy legated it to the back page. This ignominious end when Hitler seized could just bear a penny opposition so did the Social Democracy raise attitude of opposition expressed it-self in pitiable amounts, as the refusal to consent to retrenchment in social insurance and reduction of salaries. Other goals and other tasks the S. P. G. was incapable

Hitler Clashes with Hugenberg for Control

more than an internal significance. People Party (Catholic) in Mun- of the old family doctor, the S. P. neither committee.

on the Catholic center were con- end.

Austrian Chancellor, has used this and deceive faithful workers. If the bankers' committee, it has run as a pretext to banish the Nazi could choke strikes and uprisings. into 2 deadlock of national inter-

Lovestone and his kind notwithstanding, the differences between Hitler has not yet completely consolidated his power. But he seven league boots. Unless the Communist movement sounds the alarm and acts in time-Austria will be next in order!

the other night on Fascism, they class, coincides with the greater Clara Zetkin was a milestone in "If today Fascist terror is raging offered such empty and vaingloriworse than ever before, it is not ous platitudes that though the hour whose movement now writhes un-ternational had all its strength an indication of the strength of was nearly twelve when the two der the heel of Hitler and his turned towards the world revolu-Fascism, but of its weakness (!). main speakers concluded the audi- brown cohorts. But it is also a sign of the rapid ence virtually demanded speakers rise of the revolutionary wave." from the Left Opposition to take associated with some of the most cant tribute when he said that "the (Daily Worker, Saturday, June 17, the floor and present their point of glorious traditions of the German only man in the German party was view. Though three minutes were alloted, the speaker for the L. O. proletariat and its struggle for eman old woman."

In spite of h It is with such a fabric of lies took the opportunity to point out pation in the socialist movement heroism, comrade Zetkin was soft and illusions that the Stalinist bu- that Alexander's theory—the more under the tutelage of Marx and and even equivocal, at times, in reaucracy means to cover up its misery the better-was in reality criminal shipwreck in Germany. It a petty bourgeois Anarchist theory, is upon this self-same rotten fund- that the Leninist approach is to cialist laws of Bismark. The great pathies swerved to Brandler, in the ament of untruths that Stalinism call a defeat a defeat and not to honor of being the initiator of the early days she showed inclinations proceeds to cover up its tracks be-say that the ravages of Fascism organization of working class we-towards the Left Opposition. The fore the working class of the world are "in reality a victory and a men on an international scale be epigones many times made maliciby speaking of preparations for a sign of strength for the German German general strike to overthrow working class", as Alexander and is indissolubly associated with this Zetkin. Fascism now. It is their fear that Minor inferred. When the speakthe Left Opposition would tear the er's time was up he asked for an mask off their cynical, lying coun-extension of time. The sentiment tenances and force through a dis- of the workers was to grant it. cussion of the real state of affairs The chairman refused to intervene and those responsible for it that and as the speaker started to con-

(Continued on Page 4)

C.Zetkin, Veteran Red Dies at 76

But here it must be declared that an revolutionary labor leader of the banner of internationalism dur-Opposition? Why this unheard-of the American party, at least, if more than 50 years of active, mili- ing the dark days of the imperialist determination on the part of the bu- Robert Minor and Alexander are tant service to the cause of the slaughter. This indomitable fightreaucracy? A glance at one of the its true spokesmen, and we have no German and international prole er did her part in the foundation of tarium near Moscow a few days Germany, the Communist party of Speaking before an audience of ago. The death of Clara Zetkin, a Germany and the Communist Interworkers in Brownsville, Brooklyn, real tragedy to the world's working national. The Bolshevik work of tragedy of the German proletariat the days when the proletarian in-

(Continued on Page 4)

Engels. She was in the forefront the inner struggle in the ranks of of the battle against the anti-So-Communism. Sometimes her symlongs to Clara Zetkin. Her name ous use of the prestige of Clara indispensable activity.

al. Together with Karl Liebknecht tles for freedom!

Clara Zetkin is dead. The veter-| and Rosa Luxemburg, she kept aloft tion—in the days of Lenin and The name of comrade Zetkin is Trotsky. Lenin paid her a signifi-

In spite of her militancy and

Notwithstanding, the death of More important and more out this brave leader is a real loss to standing in the fighting career of the Communist and revolutionary comrade Zetkin has been her un- workers. The name of comrade remitting warfare against the Zetkin is an inspiration-it is entraitors of the German social dem-shrined in the hearts of the proocracy and the Second Internation-letarian vanguard wherever it bat-

Hold Protest Meeting in Phila. Philadelphia Pa.—An enthusiasm and called for them by name. which more than hints at the smoul- A resolution was passed condemn dering unrest of the workers and ing the action of the arrest and

their desire for leadership in strug- demanding the immediate uncondigle blazed forth in answer to the tional release of comrade Goodman. protest open air meeting called by Petitions were passed among the tion, for the purpose of meeting rethe Philadelphia Branch of the workers which many signed will-lief needs, is to expect too much. Left Opposition where more than ingly. At the close of the meet- The dissolution of the Gibson Comsix hundred workers came out to ing workers formed grouplets among mittee should make this fact plain. show their resentment and to de-themselves and around our com-top of that. Mayor O'Brien nounce the Fascist tactics of the rades and discussed. police and the courts exemplified in

pearance and drew close to hear measure responsible for their non-need of the hour is unity, a common our speakers and to take part in organization. the protest meeting.

as chairman. The workers were finally refused. anxious to listen to our comrades

the malicious frame-up of our com- carrying on a campaign of open air they would have to appeal to prirade Leon Goodman at an open air meetings before the workers in the vate charitable agencies to help meeting held at the same corner Kensington section of the city. The carry on unemployment aid. Revenworkers are willing to fight but they ues have already broken down, and This protest meeting was far big-demand leadership. Stalinism with the attempt to pass the buck back ger than any open air meeting the its bureaucratic ultimatist de- to private charities means eventu-Stalinists have ever had in this mands stifles initiative and inde- ally the utter breakdown of the pendent thought among the van- whole system of relief to unem-The workers responded to our guard of the working class. This ployed workers and their families. leaflet appeal. Eight o'clock they mass meeting protesting Goodman's How is the miserable condition lined the street within the vicinity arrest casts a perspective of what of the unemployed to be improved? of Hope and Jefferson Streets. Some strength lies latent among the Only through a broad and militant hailed us as we approached. The workers. The Stalinists with their struggle. Such a movement deworkers were heartened at our ap- policy of isolation are in great mands above all united action. The

To get aid from the I. L. D. was onslaught of capitalism. It must be Comrade Carey, though not a as easy as it is to pull an elephant driven home that the workers mean member of the Opposition was in- out of a quicksand bog. We were business, that the starvation provited to take part in this meeting advised to let Goodman serve the gram of the new deal will not be and was the first speaker. The sentence and our request for a quietly accespted. A united front other speakers were comrades Mor-speaker to be sent to the protest of all workers organizations must genstern and Roberts, Hirsch acting meeting was met by evasion and be the answer. This is the only

-MEYER HIRSCH.

A Review of the Past and Signs for the Future

increasingly necessary to consider production until they were mining Council of the Leather Goods Emthe situation in the Progressive the great bulk of the coal produced ployers Association. The confer-Miners of America with the aim of in the United States. Yet the leadascertaining its tasks in the light ership did not budge. Wherever According to our managers report wage scale is not being paid, time of recent developments. The PMA such possibilities of organization at the union meeting of June 15, and a half for overtime has been is at the crossroads. The policies existed, as in West Virginia, Lewis the employers demanded (1) a done away with. Certain shops it adopts will decide its future. In betrayed the miners. any discussion of this union, it must always be borne in mind, that the stantly worsening conditions for two weeks' trial period, which

Mine Workers of America. existence revolved around two resorted to every means at its disfronts: against the coal operators posal to check the revolt of the to undermine the already meagre have not enforced the agreement (primarily the Peabody Coal Com- miners and thereby, to successfully conditions of the workers. After a they signed last year, how can they pany) and the officialdom of the carry through his policy. To acheated discussion the membership trust them to sign a new agree-decided unanimously to call a strike ment today which may be still money, materials, etc.), both work- tions; expel militants by the hunding with the support of the State reds; kill, maim, torture; and deof Illinois, its courts, police, the stroy every vestige of democracy there is general talk of raising ence committee from amongst the controlled press, etc. With such an in the union. The union was no wages, the pocketbook bosses are membership. The workers array of reaction surrounding it, longer an organization of the coal the course chartered out in advance miners. It was a place of loot for The answer is that our present ad-Shiplacoff, Wolinsky and Co.

the union who, in carrying through mains so now) a precarious one. Under such conditions two paths this great betrayal of the miners, are open for the new union. Either also proceeded to rifle its treasuries it succumbs to the pressure of rebrought it into existence, and enin order to make it a truly national against wage cuts and for wage in union of the coal miners. There is must understand that their successof a decade. The victorious struggle of the Progressive Miners Union came as the mighty wave of these many fights.

The "Red" Scare

After a series of unsuccessful efforts by Lewis and the Peabody theless had to first of all present er prices and rents, a thirty per leadership cannot be trusted, that shoot with impunity. Coal Company to destroy the new to the miners a program in contracent wage reduction. union, they resorted to a familiar distinction to the prevailing proweapon used by all reactionaries gram of the Lewis union. Of what they were getting (they were aver- groups and tendencies and the and flunkies in the labor movement. The "red scare" was employed. It tion of union, which is not accom- and many of them got only three tee under rank and file control. was directed against Gerry Allard, panied at the same time with a days per week every other week, or the editor of the Progressive Miner, program of vital, militant struggle five dollars and ten cents per week a healthy rebuff in the rank and their extension)? Obviously it can-out in protest. file of the PMA. The leadership of not be of much value. the PMA, sad to say, reacted in a most shameful and pitiful manner. It apologized and did precisely Howat movement which rode the ally interviewing the "loyal" emwhat the reactionaries desired. It wave of one mighty revolt, and ployees best acquainted with the front proposals to the Progressive too declared itself in deadly oppo-sition to Communism in general in spite of its cry for democracy, have met with the president of the and to Communists in the new un- and the need for turning the union company and with the bankers continually hammering them in the ion. It announced that the union into the hands of the rank and again. For his tactic was changed, open with such proposals. The Left take into account the time element Ochler drew up a resolution (apwas "pure" of radicalism. Instead file, it failed miserably, brought of meeting this challenge in a about no changes in the life of the straightforward militant manner it union, acted as a perfect agent for energy of the manner it union, acted as a perfect agent for energy of the manner it union, acted as a perfect agent for energy of the manner it union, acted as a perfect agent for energy of the meeting this challenge in a shout no changes in the life of the mumber of workers (he would not energy of the meeting this challenge in a shout no changes in the life of the meeting this challenge in a shout no changes in the life of the meeting this challenge in a shout no changes in the life of the meeting this challenge in a shout no changes in the life of the meeting this challenge in a shout no changes in the life of the meeting the meeting this challenge in a shout no changes in the life of the meeting the engaged in a "red-hunting cam- Lewis, because its policies were name them nor in any way imply Morris White workers (and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and on top of that deavoring to use the Gillespie Connection and the re- reach Prague and the repaign." And in their own way, they identical to those of the Lewis manow proceed to close the close the close of the Lewis mathe control of the lewis mawho they might be), but accompanysentment against the blood-sucking ten days to two weeks additional forms.

The control of the lewis mawho they might be), but accompanysentment against the blood-sucking ten days to two weeks additional forms. now proceed to cleanse the union chine. Unless any movement can ing this threat with a promise of tactics of White in his New York for the paper to reach them. In and direct blows againt the most tear itself from the policies of be- a five day week. militant section of the PMA, that trayal to the adoption of the course section without which the new unindicated, all its pretenses of deling been given the authority of law ed. ion would have been an impossibil-mocracy, of a "rank and file" union, ity.

It is now a week since the memint been put over on them in the name of the President of the bership decided to go out on strike

One thing is certain, the drive against militants in the new union will spell its inevitable death, and appresent constitutes an ill-omen of what will take place in the un
into democracy of the union will ermment, the workers involved are the union is militant, and aggressate and the rederal gov. Instead of carrying out the membership decisions, the leaders are Industrial Recovery Act and the trying to patch things up by a back
| New Deal: more unemployment, door agreement. They are preparion, if the leadership will persist in its present course-remaining smug and self-satisfied with early gains; a union in Illinois and a few contracts. In a discussion of the union it is necessay to return to some fundamental questions of tactics and strategy that are indispensable to the miners' organization.

The greatest possible error that the militants can commit is to consider that the struggle against the Lewis machine in the UMWA, was an isolated struggle for democracy and the rights of the rank and file miner in the union as such. It is impossible to make such an abstraction of the struggle for democracy in any workers' organization. The inner life of any organization is a reflection of its policies. In a like manner the inner life of the UMWA was a result of the policies of betrayal committed by its leadership. It cannot be said that Lewis and his murderous regime is more brutal and vicious than other reactionaries in the labor movement. All of them act alike, when confronted with a desperate and militant rank and file. It is in defense of their policies, that the Lewis machine resorted to the vilest methods in destroying the will and desires of the coal miners. In the same manner the basis for the struggle of the miners against their leadership, arose primarily in reaction, not to the throttling of democracy, but to the traitorous policies of the ruling

Why the Fight Against Lewis? The Lewis machine dedicated itself to the task of helping the coal operators at the expense of the coal miners. Instead of acting asthe labor leader of workers and serving their interests, they acted as labor lieutenants in the service of the capitalists—in this case the coal operators. The decline of the once powerful United Mine Workrrs, is a tale of successive betrayals of the miners. Strikes were sold out. Wage agreements were made that aided only the operators and reduced the already low standards They failed to see the atatck in of the miners to an even lower scale. Conditions in the mines be ear to the warnings of the Left came steadily worse. With the coal wing. It was only when Walker industry, already over-developed took to the press with his appeal and constantly menaced by the development of electric and waterfuel-power, drifting to the south and the unorganized fields, the Lewis regime did not raise a finger clear to all from the financial siti in the direction of the organization uation of New York City and the of the unoganized miners. The un negotiations between the city and

With each passing day it becomes organized fields steadily increased

organization was founded on the miners, is it any wonder that with- means the free right to hire and ing shops. basis of a militant struggle against in the rank and file a wave of re- fire; (3) abolition of the unemthe Lewis machine in the United sentment developed into a stormy ployment insurance fund and the revolt? In order to enforce its po- employment office, etc. At the outset, its struggles for licy of betrayal, the Lewis machine

What should have been the action or it maintains that mili- course of the UMWA? Assuming tant class struggle character which it to be a genuine organization of workers, it should have proceeded the borders of the State of Illinois organized fields, extend the struggle creases, for a general improvement no middle road for the union to of the working conditions of the Sugar Coated Misery travel. The militants in the union miners. Needless to say, it did exactly the opposite. As has already ful struggle against Lewis in Illinbeen cited above, in order to enforce factories operated by the bankers ago and only recently got back into in Christian County, Ill., were ois was built upon the foundations his external policies, Lewis resort(they are many after four years of it. Who is responsible for the rebombed last week and one house laid years before in the fight made ed to a destruction of the inner life crisis) are the first to be affected turn of this disastrous leadership riddled with bullets by coal com-talist offensive. by the Progressives in 1924, by the of the union. It is to be observed by the Industrial Recovery Act. which has brought our industry to pany agents in an effort to terror-save-the-Union movement in 1928 thus, that the struggle for democ-Save-the-Union movement in 1928 thus, that the struggle for democand similar struggles over a period racy in the Lewis union, was de place, and already last week the is the clique? The so-called and ize the miners to return to work

time the question of policies.

The Howat Movement

will fall to pieces.

(Continued on Page 3)

This is the second of a series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union of New York City, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers in the A. F. of L. It embodies the ideas of a number of Progressive Group and Rank and File teachers, the

two Left wing groups in the union. IT.

the interests of the teachers, the administration is clearly revealed simple duty. by its policies to be the representative of only the higher-salaried. older, and more conservative teachers in the union to the exclusion of stration. On September 2, in an the larger interests of the union other statement issued by the unand the teachers as a whole. us take first the question of the fight against the salary cut which Representative; and Charles J.

the teachers got last December. Walker, who was then mayor, ask-

percent. cern them when they are being pregave warning that it was coming, energetically mobilized the teachers have discharged its duty and deserves the confidence of the membership of the union.

But this is what the Lefkowitz-Linville administration cannot do. time. Worse! They turned a deaf for voluntary cuts in the interests of economy, that the administration stirred from its lethargy.

By that time it should have been

P.M.A. in Perspective ON THE WORKER'S FRONT The Gillespie Meet

New York, N. Y .- For the past few weeks negotiations have been Pocket Book Workers going on between the Pocketbook Workers Union and the Industrial ences were broken off several times. their jobs indiscriminately, With such a background of con- and cutters; (2) abolition of the Bros., etc., have been allowed to tions committee composed of one previous conferences. The backbone

as soon as possible.

value is a program for democratiza- aging less than forty cents an hour, election of a general strike commit-

possibility of this development and strike preparations. The outstanding experience of the immediately busied himself, person-

Vote for Strike

send their work to outside contract-

The "Fraternal Club" administration never made an attempt to carry out the agreement which In other words, the bosses are carries provisions against all of the demanding the open shop and hope above abuses. If these S. P. fakers worse? That is why the workers How is it that at a time when demanded the election of a conferdemanding a lowering of conditions? that they can have no faith in

for the new union was (and it re- the agents of the coal operators in ministration, the "Fraternal Club" The present agreement, which misleaders did not enforce 10 per- was enforced, "expired" June 1. cent of even that rotten agreement | While the agreement | guaranteed | struggle have the workers gained which they forced on the workers \$32 and \$37 per week, workers are conditions from the employers. The last year. For the right to collect actually getting only \$15 to \$22 a pocketbook bosses will be forced to dues in the shops, they gave the week. While the agreement did not bosses a free hand to whatever they permit more than 5 per cent shop dustrial Recovery Bill from Washpleased with workers. The bosses reorganization, Chick, Morris ington or by any Miss Perkins, but deavors to spread the union beyond on a bold scale to unionize the unhave naturally taken advantage. White, Maxik, Stone and Groper, only through their own struggle
the borders of the State of Illinois organized fields, extend the struggle Workers have been thrown out of Blum and Mittenthal have thrown and organization.

—N. D. F. Workers have been thrown out of Blum and Mittenthal have thrown and organization. out from 30 to 50 per cent of their workers. The union leadership put

up no resistance whatever. This is the leadership that was New York City.—The firms and driven from our ranks a few years pendent upon raising at the same employees were informed they fake Progressives, the Leather under company terms. While pickwould go on a six hour day. As Goods Workers Society who formed eting is forbidden and even peace-Every movement of revolt in the the workers were being paid by the a united front with the "Fraternal ful meetings of miners' wives UMWA, whether or not it momen-hour and were working eight and Club", not to better conditions but broken up by the National Guard, tarily raised the question of de- a half hours per day that meant, to defeat the Left wing. It is these apparently "law and order" allows mocracy as a forefront issue, never- exclusive of considerations of high- same people, who know that the coal company thugs to bomb and rejected the demand for a new con-Thirty percent less than what ference committee representing all

The Left wing approached these By this means they hoped to drive to save the union (through its ex- to live on-none of them had been against the bosses and the "Frat- ting first hand accounts of condithe officialdom of the PMA into retension); agaist wage cuts (for inworking full time) brought forth a ernal" clique, but they refused. The tions in Germany can do so by actionary channels. This offensive creases); for retaining the im- healthy response from among the Matlins, David Myers, etc., will be subscribing to Unser Wort, the launched by the reactionaries met proved conditions in the mines (and workers who threatened to walk held responsible for any treacher- illegal organ of the German Left American methods to the description of the descriptio ous acts perpetrated by the admin-Opposition, published in Prague. The superintendent sensed the istration, for failure of militant

But the Left wing too must be

The democracy of the union will United States and the Federal gov- in answer to the bosses' demands. more misery. —SHOP WORKER. ing a new sell-out which they mean

to force upon the workers by terror. What can be done in order to prevent a new sell-out? (1) All groups must unite in a general strike committee and force the officials to call piece work system for operators like Blum and Mittenthal, Kadin committee must select a negotial reaffirming the decisions of the member from each group to negoti-

- ate on the following demands: (1) A 40 hour week, to relieve unemployment.
- The abolition of reorganization and readjustment pri-
- (3) For unemployment insurance to be paid by the bosses only. For the abolition of the institution of the "impartial"
- For the right to strike when employers violate the agree-

These demands will be granted only when the employers see an organization which can strike unitedly and strike hard. Only through grant our demands not by any in-

Law an'Order' in Illinois

Homes of the Progressive Miners

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Comrades who subscribe must shops, with which we will deal in short, the first copy should reach to fight the capitalist offensive. For the present, this move hav- a separate article) go by unexploit- the comrade about three weeks after remittance to us

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ADE VOU A SURSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT?

A Resolution which was Rejected and the Reason Why

The June 11th Gillespie Confer- sentence motion which said merely mittee and force the officials to call ence, called by the Progressive that we go on record against the the strike immediately. (2) The Trade Union Educational Committing Control Bill. Delegate the strike must be prepared so as to tee, consisting of Left wing trade Oehler entered his resolution which involve the non-union shops, (3) unionists in this section ended by was rejected by the Stalinists as Militant mass picketing must be or preventing the establishment of a an amendment and then the fight ganized. (4) The general strike New Federation of Labor and by started. of the conference, as usual, was and proceeded to tear them to bits the delegation from the Progressive in their fight against our resolution. Miners of America and the numeri-

> of the Stalinists. The policy committee took a correct position by rubber stamp- too long, they said everything iming the program and policy laid aginable but they did not show down at the previous conferences where the resolution was wrong, and by bringing in some proposals where the analysis was false. The for concrete action and for com-Stalinists opposed the international mittees of action to be established approach in the resolution with in the different sections of the shameful and narrow-minded localdination of all Left wing groups in learn that action must be built upon the trade union movement.

> However, the Stalinists, who had the largest number of delegates in ence gathered together from all the conference, and the policy com- parts of the state was not to mittee which they controlled, failed rubber-stamp our previous policy, miserably to measure up to the task but to present a correct analysis confronting the American working of the most dangerous move at presclass and the needs of the confer-ent of the capitalists against the ence. To call a conference to rub- workers, and to map out a program ber stamp the decisions of the pre- of action upon a correct analysis vious conference is a waste of energy. Conferences are not called for such a purpose. A conference of Left wing trade unionists must consider the most pressing problems of the class, point out the dangers developing and confronting us and map out a program of action for the class to fight against the capi-

> Thrust of Industrial Cotnrol Bill The most menacing capitalist measure confronting our class and the least understood by our class at this stage is the Industrial Con- workers a correct analysis of the trol Law of the capitalists and their state. In the future, when the labor history as well as the economic history of America is written, this measure will stand out in all its capitalist ugliness as an attempt to hold up a tottering structure and beat down the workers.

The Gillespie Conference was the only Left wing conference of trade unionists held in this period and the logical starting point to rally Industrial Control Law and to fight

The Left Opposition delegates and some of the other delegates realized week. Subscriptions are for a year this danger and the needs of our class. We were fighting indepeneasily have found common ground at the conference. Delegate Hugo

The Stalinists could not equal the Resolution on the Industrial task because they could not understand the situation. They have not yet learned to point out the dangers ahead, to foresee the blows. They can only feel blows when they fall upon their heads. Their policy committee, in reporting, rejected our political analysis and instead

brought in a report with a one-New Salary Cuts Impending

had accomplished their purpose, been reduced and the standard of with the support of the Joint Sal-living has been reduced below the ary Committee, and the administration of the union, the administraissued "A Legislative Program of present situation. tatives to the J. S. C, and of its Action For 1933 Suggested by Dr. Executive Board. The cause of Abraham Lefkowitz." Lefkowitz Abraham Lefkowitz." Lefkowitz have done nothing to check the this situation and the various plans says: "An evaluation of the work offensive. Everywhere the misleadfor its necessary reorganization will of the short special session shows ers of labor and the agents of the the following protective gains: | capitalists in our ranks have held (4) The invisible government—had in check the workers resistance and the effrontery to become visible..' have only functioned to console the This means political progress at an workers after the capitalists have unprecedented rate. The humilia- delivered their deadly blows. tion imposed upon the legislators and the city officials has made Miners of America, in revolt against them so angry that they will look the corrupt Lewis machine, the with favor upon any legislation Operators and the State was a which will liberate local govern- heroic attempt by the miners to ment from the grip of the money stem the tide of the capitalist of-monopoly. (5) The united fight of fensive, to stop the retreat of our teachers and civil service groups class. The struggle of the Illinois against arbitrary dictatorship has miners acted as a temporary rallywon the respect of both legislators ing center for the whole class. Then and bankers".

not long in demonstrating the re-swerved it from its course. It is spect with which the Lefkowitz- not yet too late to correct these Linville Hosanna-policy had inspir- errors and utilize the Progressive ed them. Lefkowitz' "Program of Miners of America as a rallying Action" was issued on January 4. center for the whole American Two months later, on March 3, the labor movement. For this a daring union issued a bulletin signed by leadership and policies of class Lefkowitz, warning against further struggle are needed completely to sound the alarm salary cuts! "The Albany situation Admission of Capitalist Bankruptcy is one of great uncertainty, but pregnant with dangerous possibil- talists and their government, thru ities for public education and teach- the Roosevelt administration, are Lefkowitz put a motion at a meet ers. The Republicans are on the driving through the Industrial Coning of teachers, calling for a vote war path. Their caucus on Tues- trol Bill, which will strengthen the day voted to fight for a 10 percent dictatorial power of the capitalists reduction on salaries below \$2000 over the working class. When the and a 20 percent cut on salaries Roosevelt administration declare an

What did Lefkowitz and the administration propose to do about dustrial Control Bill, through govimpending attacks? "Get busy. Keep your school commit-tees active. Write, send telegrams, visit your representatives, get organizations to act." Only the same ineffectual measures which facilitated the last cut Yet these mouthers of phrases and sowers of illusion are knights in the against the Left wing.

What must be done concretely to defeat these attacks will be discussed later.

(To be continued)

Stalinists Set Up Straw Men

The Stalinists set up straw men They said: Oehler wants to waste cally largest force from other or our time calling conferences to fight ganizations was under the control the Industrial Control Bill; what we want is mass action of the workers. They said our resolution was country to work toward the coor-lism. The Stalinists must some day correct analysis.

> The task of the Gillespie conferin order to fight against it.

Delegate Payer told the Stalinists that in Germany they did not realize the danger of Fascism until after Fascism had smashed the party, that they do not understand anything until it falls upon their heads and are repeating this blunder here; that this Left wing conference, called on the eve of the Bill becoming a law, should be used as a starting point to organize the American workers against the capitalist offensive and present to the Industrial Control Bill.

The leaders of the P. M. A., the Right wing counters by circulating petitions, and at that, not against the Industrial Control Bill and the dictatorship it will establish over the coal industry, but merely against having Lewis appointed Czar of the coal industry, asking that the Progressive Minerus Union be also considered by the Government when they select the Czar! Instead of the brutal dictatorship of Lewis they want to give the workers a sugar-coated dictatorship, as though it makes any difference how you're killed, by hanging or by the electric chair.

Finally, when the vote was taken, the Right wing P.M.A. delegates, the delegates who were for a new federation, and the Stalinists voted together against our amendment. The vote was 72 to 17. Our vote was a conscious vote of Left wing miners and other delegates, who like ourselves, realized the importance of using this conference to

HUGO OEHLER

Control Rill:

The American working class has lived through four years of the world crisis which has violently shaken the American structure and talists against the working class has continued on all fronts. The working class has been driven back After the bankers and politicians in disorderly retreat. Wages have living has been reduced below the necessity level. The unemployed number over 18 million. Private

The labor leaders and reformers The struggle of the Progressive

the pressure of the enemies forces The bankers and politicians were and wrong policies of the leaders

Following these attacks the capiemergency existing and proceed to "solve" the emergency by the Inernment partnership, it is an open admission of the decay and breakdown of capitalist production, an admission that the gigantic productive forces can no longer cope with the situation and be used. under private ownership, to feed the millions of wage slaves.

It is a capitalist attempt to find a way out of the contradiction between socialized production and private capitalist appropriation by establishing a form of State Capi-

(Continued on Page 3)

Teachers Union and the Fight Against Wage Cuts the Wall Street bankers for a loan zations were showing signs of sub- of the classroom teacher-these

Contrary to its picture of the situation in the union, in which it appears as the representative of the interests of the teachers the interests of the teachers the interests of the teachers the system. That was its

Policy of the Administration

But that was not the line which informed the policy of the admini-Let ion, over the signatures of Linville, Hendley of the CPLA, Treasurer, Long before the cut was actually the administration stated: "(1).

In Defense of the Russian

Revolution

to the city, that the impending mitting, the officers of the union supervisors who comprise only the calculation tried to tell the teachers that charity has long ago broken down salary cut was an integral part of came out with three strong state- 4 percent of all the teachers in the the salary cut was, in substance, a Public and governmental relief has this banker-politician inspired eco- ments opposing the cuts under any system, make up almost 50 percent victory! On January 4th the union proven inadequate to cope with the nomy. The policy of the union ad- circumstances. Undoubtedly, these ministration should have had the statements turned the tide against

special session of the State legislature cut the teachers pay from 6 to 10 percent. The banker-politician economy triumphed over the hosannas of the union administration. What the administration succeeded in doing, was to disarm the teachers before their attackers and restrain them from active resistance

The Joint Salary Committee This record does not exhaust this passed at the special session of the Mayor Walker has asked all civil aspect of the question. The Teach-State legislature, called for that service employees and teachers to ers Union is represented in the and similar purposes, it was clear accept a voluntary salary cut..... Joint Salary Committee and has that the attack was impending. The (5) Deputy Comptroller Frank J. four members on its Executive Left wing claims that it was ob- Prial, and his civil service group Board. The Joint Salary Commitvious as much as two years ago. are opposing the proposal for saltee is a city wide organization It was certainly unmistakable by ary reduction actively, vigorously, made up of representatives of the the end of last summer, when and successfully." (our emphasis). approximately 75 teachers' organi-This was on September 2. On zations in the city, including the ed all civil service employees and October 20, in another statement, Teachers Union. At this point we teachers to accept a cut of 8 1-3 signed by the Joint Committee on cannot undertake a detailed analy-Left wing activities in the Teach- sis of the composition of the J. S. An organization which exists for ers Union, and the officers of the C. Suffice it to say that most of the purpose of defending the inter-union—a document which attempts the 75 organizations represented in ests of the teachers against such at- to reply to the criticisms made it, are paper: 44 organizations have tacks, must be on the alert to dis-against the administration by the less than 100 members—one num-trary, it participated in it and Left wing—the administration has bering only 8: 21 organizations pared. If the administration can the following to say on the question have less than 500 members; and show that it saw the atack in time, of the salary cut: "(4) In the sum- 15 have above 500. To boot, supermer of 1932 following the action of visors, who by their position in of confidence in the Joint Salary Mayor Walker in demanding volun- the school system, are partly or alto resist it and armed them with a tary cuts of 8 1-3 percent from all most entirely integrated into the union administration compromised correct policy, it can be said to city employees, at a time when the Board of Education, and whose in itself in the eyes of all thinking above \$2,000." leaders of the conservative organi- terests, consequently, are not those teachers.

Soviet Economy in Danger

Workers' Pocket Series

By Leon Trotsky

72 pages

of the membership of the represenbe discussed later.

> The Joint Salary Committee was created for the purpose of advancing the salaries of the teachers, protecting their pensions, etc. In the course of its existence it has collected tens of thousands of dollars from the teachers for this purpose. How well it has defended their interests can be seen from its record in connection with the recent salary cut. The Joint Salary Committee did absolutely nothing to resist the salary cut. It declared that the issue was not at all a salary reduction but the protection of the legislation on the books in Albany, making mandatory, salary increases for teachers! And along these lines it conducted its agitation. Such a policy must be branded for what it is-a treacher-

ous sell-out! The union administration failed against this treachery. On the concovered it up. On December 16th, Committee! By this policy the

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The Banning of the Austrian C.P

Vienna, May 28—On May 26th, Dollfus Strikes an Ominous and Third Internationals. Left to and social democratic workers who the proscription of the Communist Party of Austria was signed by the Council of Ministers because of "its oft-times established danger to the state and its illegal activity." The proscription has already been carried out, the party offices closed, no ideas of their own and restricted yet scattered, to reflect more seriall literature, etc. confiscated. The Rote Fahne, the central organ of speakers in Austria. Nowhere could is entirely lacking insofar as the the party, still appears, but it has changed ownership. The Workers shippers as here. This they proved The relationship of forces has not pendent enterprise. There can be of the German Communist Party. tion of the C.P.A But the fact that the Rote Fahne will hold out.

tical party the Bonapartist Doll-sion from the party. fuss regime has taken a significant step in its further development. The significance of the step does not lie in a change in the relation to look for the line of the C.P.A. the dissolution of the C.P.A., he of forces. The C. P. A. had become That they could not trust in their will not and cannot undertake any Foreign \$2.50 too insignificant for that, and the lucky stars became clear even to thing decisive. For the forces of government knows this only too the Viennese Stalin agents after the development go far over Dollfuss's well. This government measure is German catastrophe. But to defend head and in the last analysis it will important, however, and to the democracy and to push the social be shown that the blow against the democracy are that, insofar as democratic workers forward in this the C.P.A. was a blow against the it establishes a precedent that can direction—that was Trotskyism and entire working class—not against, utilized later.

this time too "little" Dollfuss pro- rudder and without an aim. work. It is no mere coincidence measure which, by requiring a practically stops the entire traffic Austria. On this basis, the Christian Socialists deal sharp blows against the Austrian Nazis whom they accuse of having inspired these measures of the German government and of open treason to Austria. The forthcoming proscription of the Nazi party is spoken of in papers closest to the government. At the same time we learn that the Nazis made an offer of a coalition to the Dollfuss government, but that it was rejected. Every means is used, Hitler's fullest support is given right out in the open, in order to consummate the Black-Brown coalition.

Importance of Foreign Traffic

fic on the part of the German government serves the end of lifting Italy - Germany - Hungary against the Austrian Nazis into the saddle Versailles and for Revision. France of power and by this means, to and the small Entente against Rebring about the integration of Aus- vision and for Versailles. tria with Hitler-Germany. Since following.

however, do not desire to share the who could best carry out the Refate of the Centrists in Germany, vision policy. Dollfuss carries on a desperate The Legitimists count mostly upfight against his Brown shirt opponents and their backer, Hitler. Hungarian Nazis expect most of a devetand the hourgeoisie under-To weak to strike a decisive blow Revision under the protection of at the Nazis, who constantly under- Hitler. And the Goemboes wing mine his basis; unwilling to con- considers itself as the most approduct such a sruggle, because by priate executive. But all are agreed doing that he would change the re- to bring back the past, to further lation of forces in favor of the the chauvinism against Versailles, social democracy, he merely resorts to mobilize the masses for Revision. to empty threats against the Nazis These are war preparations. proscribing the uninfluentially C.P.A. He will not intimidate the Nazis by such methods. The Communist party, however, has been laid prostrate.

Workers Passive to Banning of C. P. A.

This party, the oldest in the C.I. in case it still existed. An empty rank and file. protest, in which the Arbeiterzeit- In 1932, the struggles of the Ill- to its great future. ped of still another fiction.

lessly, in the manner of an ordin-cut upon the coal miners. ary police action, without any political uproar—that cannot astonish anyone who at least in the last few the rights of the rank and file, the their support of the two unions, the years observed attentively the policy rights of minority opinion, inviting result of this vote deciding which of the C.P.A. It has reproduced also those expelled by Lewis for union shall remain in Illinois (this the political and theoretical balder- their militancy, but at the same correct proposal was naturally undash of Stalin and Thaelmann in time sounded a militant tone in its acceptable to the Lewis machine); an even more vulgar form. Its program of struggle for the inter- the other: that the unions function leading bureaucrats represent the ests of the miners as against those where they are a majority (a divery dregs of the Stalinist bureau- of the operators. Precisely in the vision of territory) declaring that cracy. They saw Fascism establatter sense did the union give they recognize the UMWA is an lished in Austria in 1929 and were much hope for its future. The un- organization existing in the interearnestly of the opinion, as early ion pledged itself to spread nation- ests of the miners, i.e., a miners' as the Fall of the same year, that ally, to wage just a struggle in the organization. an immediately revolutionary situation existed in Austria, that Work- had refused and prevented. Any the struggle for power prepared.

Austrian Stalinists in Dregs of **Bureaucratic Stupidity**

In the Spring of 1930 even the leaders that this was pure idiocy. But the expulsions of those who had opposed the Central Committee were confirmed. Since then every government became more Fascist inside the party and to defend his fication of the union would have surrender to the Lewis interests, opinion was unalterably stamped asbeen impossible. During the period even though it was presented as a the policies of Lewisism.

Albert Glotzer which gives the government ungations. (Introduced by delegate, limited power of inflation, were Hugo Oehler. opinion was unalterably stamped asbeen impossible. During the period | even though it was presented as a | the policies of Lewisism.

Proletariat

a counter-revolutionary. They had in the C.P.A., insofar as it has not themselves to being Stalinist loud- ously. A perspective for illegality he have found such willing wor- C.P.A. is concerned. no possible doubt as to how long Heckert's shameful oratory was for the masses, who today still stand With the proscription of a poli-brought with it immediate expul-thetic in connection with it, is a

It must also be recognized that swung round and about without a Germany has also proved this to the interpretation of the salary but to the advantage of the Nazis.

ceeded very skillfully about the C. P. A. Comes to Infamous End Stalinism was, indeed, hard hit The last possibility to obtain po- by the proscription of the C.P.A. that at this same time Hitler's new litical significance and influence was and will not be able to recover. cut off from the C.P.A. by the Com- But Communism lives. It has long passport charge of 1000 Marks, intern through the refusal to decide ago ceased to be carried by the upon an international united front Central Committee of the C.P.A., the of foreigners from Germany to action against Fascism by direct latter only compromised it. The negotiations between the Second Left Opposition, Bolshevik-Leninists,

itself it had no other perspective are prepared to learn from the Its infamous end, which it had to them. face defenselessly will, it is to be hoped, cause a part of the old guard

also in the months after the collapse changed at all with the proscripthem a revelation, doubt in which behind the S.P.A., remained apadangerous omen for the future. It became exceedingly futile in Even in the next few days Dollfuss the weeks just passed, in which the will prove that against the Nazis, situation became ever more critical, whom he meant to threaten with us.

will, in spite of the circumstances, assure the extension of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and recreate the revolutionary vanguard in Austria together with all Communist

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THE MILITANT 126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

he End of Austro-Marxism

was highly esteemed even before Blow against the Austrian before it except that of vegetation. events and draw conclusions from the war among its brother parties for its statesman-like spirit. "Our Bebel," a member of the German party leadership once said to Ausa cavalry colonel, but your (Victor) Adler is a Field Marshal.

> After the war, socialist Austria became even more famous. And single country, then the Austrian social democrats could tackle an even more complicated task, the Maurice Spector task of building socialism in one little province, and even in a single city. They gave the new Austria the most democratic constitution in the world" and created thereby the prerequisites for a socialization which was to be just as irresistible as it was peaceful.

And this achievement they brought houses and childrens' baths, overturned the whole educational sysof the Second International," it became looked upon in the whole so-

Helps to Understand the Present

trian friends, "our Bebel is only cialist world as if it were some miracle.

. . red Vienna built cooperative up the struggle for power. All so-

the unity of the Austrian working class has never been seriously threatened by the Third International. The Communist Party of Bratislova, C. S. R. - For and ter of the other front look? The the German reformist and Commutate Hungarian Jews"-that surely Austria has always been of neglidid not bring any joy even to Dr. gible size, small, weak, unserious. was a lamentable drag; which had Neither Revision nor anti-Revi- proportionately bigger than any cold cash-in this decadent world, cion can be considered as a solution. other social democracy. In addi-the great Austro-Marxist idea was haven't got that far; neither eco- out an ideological mobilization. democratic party of the C.S.R., Dr. Both can bring only imperialist tion to that, Austrian Fascism is in born: tht renovation and entrenchnomically, nor politically, nor strated the futile talk about "De-Markovic, was one of the main war. Only revolution can save us itself split into two hostile camps. ment of the Hapsburg state in respeakers at the demonstration. He from imperialist war—that means Heimwehr Fascism, with the aid of urn for concessions to the working being prepared. The befuddled truth is that Hungary as well as spoke under the nationalist banner overthrow of the profit-greedy im- which Dollfuss wants to cut the class. This program looked very perialists on both sides of the Dan-throat of democracy and smash the ube. Then there will be no chase workers, does not enjoy the support tive thought in this world of fruitafter commodity markets, no tariff of the National Socialists, but is walls, no boundary lines. The peace- hard pressed by competition from grandiloquent Austro-Marxist conful cohabitation of the peoples of them. Really, in such a situation, ception was only the translation of Europe can be guaranteed only by should not the Austrian social democracy come off with flying colors? No Balkanization of Europe, no

The question is already answered. European dream, no Revision or It cannot be doubted that the col-Counter-Revision—but struggle for lapse of the German social democthe Soviet United States of Europe. racy will not stand alone for long. The Austrian social democracy will volved only around parliament. It soon stand just as naked by its emulated all the petty arts of parside. It will lose the "war" against immentary cretinism from the bour"Dollfuss the little," has already goods parties. The Marxist concepany and won't ever, under any circumstances, undertake one.

Its True Face

admired in all languages, really is little, almost imperceptibly, the —not in its own imagination, not in the imagination of its brother automatically triumphant, quite in actuality. parties, but in actuality.

Heinrich Unger once said: Libtles against the decayed Hapsburg and for its actions. monarchy which aroused the ad-miration of the old Engels. But ultimately, the Austrian state re-

The Austrian social democracy A Review of the Past That Not in open battle. It crushed its opponents gradually, and incorporated the Austrian social democracy slowly within itself. Thus arose Austro-Marxism.

If we look upon its fists and not upon its mouth, Austro-Marxism proves to be nothing else but re-Its prominents, after they had formism. Like every other form of reconstituted the Second Interna- reformism, it is the adaptation of tional, the bloc from Friedrich the labor movement to the bour-Adler to Noske., led on the floor at geois state, its subordination to the the building up of socialism in a all the international congresses. The bourgeois state. What distinguishes teaching which its thinkers had it from the other forms of reformthought up, Austro-Marxism, vic- ism, what allowed it to appear for toriously surpassed the narrow a long time as something essentially bounds of the homeland. And the Austrian Social Democracy cumstance that it assumed the task Under such circumstances it is a state which was going to pieces. self-evident that today, after the Therein lay its extraordinary German social democracy has suff-strength, that is what gave it the ered a collapse unique in the history of the labor movement in its which it appeared to have no right according to the relationship of socialists turn their eyes to Austria, forces. The Austria in which all about—as the highest triumph of the exemplary little country of so-the national parties leaped at each socialist statesmanship—in unison with the Christian Socialists. But by Hitler's victory has just taken threatened the existence of the state, was in reality the classical cialists hearts and minds are stirred country of the most guarded comby the question: How will the Aus-premism. All these state conspiratem in a fashion hair-raising for trian social democracy stand up in tors who made the mien of being the "blacks" (the clergy) and this struggle? Will it not stand the so intransigeant and irreconcilable test much better than the German party? Are not, looking aside from its striking qualities, the circumstant social democracy rose by its deeds its striking qualities, the circumstant of the vulgar compromise. and became the "Exemplary Party stances themselves auspicious for They held their fists under the nose of the Second International" it he. it? of the government so as to be able The German working class was later to stretch out their empty defeated because it was split, but palms before it with all the greater

Collusion With Hapsburg

In this state, which could not live and could not die; whose existence The Austrian social democracy is no friend if it did not pay him in new, very bold. It was like a crealess pettiness. But in reality, this the common garden variety reformist program-cannon fodder for voting rights—into the Austrian.

Since then Austro-Marxism continually made state policies, no longer class policies. Its ideas relost it in fact. For it hasn't begun tion that the liberation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves was smiled upon as old fashioned.

In order to understand this as the only possible, as the self-evident thing, what this Austrian social democracy, praised in all tones and democracy in all languages, really is line with the immanent laws of capitalism and capitalism becomes eralism has a great future behind filled more and more with a socialit. That can be said equally as ist content. That was the secret well for the Austrian socialism. Its lore of Austro-Marxism. Public beginnings were auspicious. Under opinion it blessed with the most the leadership of Victor Adler the scholarly, with the keenest argu-Austrian working class waged bat- mentations for its inner thoughts

> (Continued in next issue) - AUSTRIACUS (From 'Unser Wort")

Versailles Revisionism Engenders New Social Chauvinist Wave

against the revision of the border same sabre-rattling, but against nist parties. lines—that is the bone of conten- Revision and for Versailles. The And this lack of understanding Markovic. tion in Europe. The line-up is not yet complete — the governments slovak Republic is also carrying A leading member of the social fronts: Versailles and Anti-Ver-The tying up of the foreign traf- sailles. The trench lines are becoming more and more discernable--

The line-up of the two fronts foreign traffic plays a great role in signifies-war preparations. The Austria's trade balance and espe- Four Power Pact stands only in cially now, because of the scanti- appearance in contradiction to this ness of foreign valuta, the govern- fact. It is merely an episodic, a ment feels, that it has been hit in temporary agreement, a postponeits sorest spot. An immediate polyment so to speak. In the meantime, litical consequence of the German the working class and the Soviet measures could also wreak havoc Union is to be got rid of. Through in the Christian Socialist party in the assumption of power by Hitler the tourist country, Tyrol, Salzburg the Revision Front was enormously and Kaernten, where the Nazis strengthened. Therefore also, the already dispose of a considerable commotion in Hungary. The reactionary masters of Hungary are not against revision. For the demon-The Austrian Christian Socialists, yet agreed in their opinions—as to stration there were mobilized: the

tegically-the two fronts are still fense"-that is only diplomacy. The peoples of Europe have reached a the C.S.R. are ruled by profit- and in line with the heated atmosnew stage of the two chauvinistic hungry capitalists who are chasing phere of chauvinism . after markets. Therefore the friction, the inevitable wars in the capitalist system. In the next war of the capitalists, just as hitherto, there will be no "defenders" among the bourgeois governments. It is affair? The official slogan of the not decisive who begins the warfor or against Revision-for every war is an aggressive war against be not the Versailles front against the working classes of both the the Anti-Versailles front but the belligerent capitalist countries. If international front of the working there is any one who has to defend class against the capitalists on both himself, then that is the working fronts, is it not? Class war against class, the international working the patriotic war of the capitalists, class.

In this light, we must regard the demonstrations which the Czech Kaschau on May 27th. The Slovenska Liga marched in full force Sokol, the Legionaires, the social democrats and the representatives of Rumania, Jugoslavia and Poland What the workers organizations do derstand, the bourgeoisie underbelong to different parties, there may be differences between Czchs and Slovaks, but in the question

of Revision we stand united." abor leaders" did not

Social Democrats Carries Patriotic Banner

What does a social democratic leader seek at such a chauvinistic social democracy—ls it not "War against War?" It is supposed to is it not? But did Markovic say that? No, he did not. He said something entirely offerent: "If we bourgeoisie held in Bratislava and are attacked, we will know how to defend oureselves," namely, against Revision. This is a patriotic capitulation before capitalism, for as long as the latter will exist the working class cannot have any interest in "attack" or "defense."

The working class is neither for nor against Revision. It stands on the international front. This third front the social democratic leaders stands admirably well: One speaker have entirely forgotten. That is at the demonstration said, "We may their betrayal. That is the logical continuation from the year 1914. Chauvinism bears its fruit re-

markably quickly; the fanaticised youth demonstration before the It is this little thing that the Hungarian consulate, shattered the indows in the Jewish quarter and Workers Against All Capitalist Wars in the struggle against Fascism, soon the chauvinistic-Fascist slo- is \$1. On a Club Plan with three How does the Czechoslovak chap- Therein lies the deep tragedy of gans were to be heard: "Kick out others it is only 50 cents.

CHICAGO PICNIC SUNDAY, JULY 9, 1933

— H. LENOROVICS

the socialist, planned economy.

Forest Preserve-Western Ave and 87th Street

GOOD TIME ASSURED Games — Refreshments — Sports Come early and enjoy the day.

Auspices: Chicago Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

A Half Year sub to the Militant

Gillespie Meet

mained the victor in this struggle.

(Continued from Page 2) "respectable" organization, to nego- a heroic struggle against Lewis, is talism. Within the framework of capital is an attempt to set up an tiate with Lewis, to put matters in to be snatched from them in the the capitalist mode of production elaborate class collaboration plan press limits itself merely to the emphasis to the PMA, as it does without waging a fierce struggle the hands of the "impartial" Gov-

ing campaign and the attempts to will follow the path of the old. The seizure of power of Fascism rial power over the American workexpel a number of Left wing ele- There is no pre-ordained guarantee in Germany has intensified the con- ing class. The bill with a governments from the P.M.A. One of the for the new union. Its existence tradition of world capitalism and ment inflation policy will establish chief accomplishments of the P.M.A. will depend entirely on how it ap- has strengthened reaction through a high MONEY wage but a VERY was its invitation to all expelled plies its policies by which it came out the world. The defeat of the LOW REAL WAGE for the Amerivelopment of the union that pointed UMWA militants, to join the P.M.A. into existence, on how it extends German working class is a defeat can workers. But when after a few months of and snlarges them. By beginning of the whole world working class. It is an attempt to side-step the existence, it in turn, begins an ex- a campaign against those very ele- The Industrial Control Bill, as a dole and social insurance and in very persons, something is wrong in in the first days of the new organi- ing class, is part of this reaction the dole, in the form of a money zation, the leadership is preparing and the struggle between the im- wage, through public works, its doom. It must by no means perialist powers to gain a point of which is nothing more nor less than There exists a great contradiction embark upon the course of expulladvantage for the struggle for the a cloak for forced labor in exchange

Subsidy to Decayed System The government partnership, thru ican working class is at hand and

The big capitalists intend to movement. A strike against the ex-

necessary steps and parts of the big capitalists' plan that the Industrial Control Bill fits into. The Industrial Control Bill and its arbitration scheme for labor and

strugg,e. It will establish dictato-

for relief.

The Europeanization of the Amer-

Our trade union movement is to be selected to control the labor

The June 11, 1933 Gillespie Trade

The Conference goes on record favoring the calling of a national united front conference of all labor

The Conference gives the incom-

(Continued from Page 2) made it easy for him to play the and file miners, not in words, but in of the organization. Everyone recstrong man. The entire bourgeois deeds. This applies with particular ognized that this was impossible publication of the official report of generally to all unions. Conversely, for recognition and against the the proscription. Only the Arbeiter a lack of inner-democracy, a rule Lewis Union, which has within its Zeitung devotes a leading article of bureaucrats, is an indication of ranks, a minority of the miners, to the event of May 27th, in which the need of this same bureaucracy and the greatest number of these it shows that the Communists to enforce a policy of betrayal kept in the UMWA through coercould complain to the Constitution, which finds resentment apace in the cion. It was this stage in the de-

ung declares its feeling of solidarity inois miners resulted in the orgawith the Communists, marks the nization of the Progressive Miners sion in this policy of the P.M.A. pulsion campaign against these ments that distinguished themselves dictatorial measure over the work its place, give the equivalent of pulsion campaign against these ments that distinguished themselves dictatorial measure over the work its place, give the equivalent of this reportion of this policy of the P.M.A. final tone of this article. Other- of America. The apparently imme- The campaign of red baiting testiwise, the proscription of the C.P.A. diate reason for this development fied that something else is brewing. the union. has brought forth no repercussion lay in the struggle of the miners. This can be described as a settling in Austria, the working class has for democracy, for a rank and file process. The early cry of building not responded in the slightest de- union. Behind this struggle for a national union has now become gree to this blow of the govern-democracy (which at that moment ment. No one can doubt the lack rose to its highest pitch through to be respectable as well as respecof influence of the C.P.A. any long- the big steal of the miners ballots ted. It is interested in the "legal" er. The Comintern has been strip on the wage cut) lay the real issue. aspects of their existence. It wants It was a fight against the policies peace in the Illinois coal fields and That it was possible to remove of betrayal of the Lewis machine, for this it even enters into false the C.P.A. from the scene so noise which endeavored to force a wage-

promised democracy in the union, of the coal miners to ascertain interests of the miners as Lewis

their behalf. "Stabilization" of the P.M.A.

of conflict, when the union was concession, a compromise. Such a The strength of the new union

Recent months witness a recesless sharp and the leadership wants negotiations with the Lewis union. It promised two statements to Lew-At its inception, the PMA not only is: one calling for a referendum

A Glaring Error

P.M.A. in Review of connect, when the union was concession, a compromise can only cut the heart lies precisely in that all Left wing out of the new movement. Along-uniform and militant elements in the union out of the new movement.

contrary, want to continue the democratic rights in the union, to establish a monopoly price of a gle of the workers for our class splendid struggle they began.

united at least on one question— side with this gradually milder tone are permitted to exist and function the maintenance and stabilization of the union, its attempts to be a actively. If this right, gained by ernor Horner, comes this red bait- tion of time, when this organization solved. in the P.M.A. The contradiction sions. It must maintain the char- redivision of the earth. exists between the rank and file and acter of its early militancy. It the leadership. The rank and file must truly attempt to become a is militant. It is serious. It has national union, to strugle for wage the emergency law and the Indus- with it goes the intensification of not carried on its valiant struggle increase, for improved working trial Control Bill, will result in the class struggle. The Industrial for nothing. It sought to build an organization that would recoil at the mere mention of Lewisism. The leadership, however, which rose during the early struggles, is trying during the early struggles, is trying need for it to resort to those dan- and decayed structure by shifting tion. to check this militancy, to become gerous and false steps that character the burden upon the working class respectable, to insure the existence terize its recent activities. But it and by eliminating small exploiters. be harnessed to the capitalists and of the union for at least two years is precisely because it does not Trusts were opposed in the past their state. Agents of the capitathrough the contracts signed and meet its test, because it has fallen but Cartels will now be organized lists, the Lewises and Greens, will is closely treading on false gounds. down on all its early promises, be-The leadership is adopting a course cause it is preparing to revise its that is bringing it closer to class- whole line of action, that they must eliminate the weak and small con- ploiters of labor will be a strike collaboration. The miners on the needs resort to a diminution of the cerns in all industries as well as against the government. The strug-

through the threat of expulsion group of favored capitalists. The interests will be outlawed. There is a great dissatisfaction against Left wingers in the union. Industrial Control Bill is an attempt in the ranks of the union against. The miners must understand to organize production, but instead this policy of the leadership, which these developments. The greatest it will "organize" capitalist compellation. can have only one effect: that of need in the union is the organiza- tition on a higher plane. It is an tional Committee, goes on record as This latter statement reveals weakening the new union and lead- tion of its Left wing, not only as attempt to eliminate competition, opposed to the Industrial Control ers' Councils should be formed and other course would have established glaring errors which can react only ing it to collapse. The weathervane the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the struggle for power proposed. The weathervane the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated, class coltable at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will lead to a greater Bill and its sugar coated at reaction to the safety valve against the meth-but instead will be a safety with the safety valve against the meth-but instead will be a safety with th no distinction between the two against the P.M.A. In those areas is the drive made against the mili- ods of Lewis in the P.M.A., but to anarchy of capitalist production. It laboration, anti-working class prounions. The distinction did exist, where the UMWA is in the major- tants in the union and the raising foster and fight for those policies will intensify all of the basic con- visions. however, in that the new union ity, it is so because the miners are of the red scare. We pointed out of struggle, by which the union tradictions of American and world promised to fulfill the desires of the compelled to remain in the union above, that for Lewis the destructional live and gain greater life. capitalism. The Industrial Control ECCI has to prove to the Austrian miners and to wage struggle in by force. In recognizing that the tion of the democracy in the union That, at present, is the most impor- Bill is an attempt to hold up the UMWA is a union existing in the led to the institution of his policy tant task of the Left wing elements falling rate of profit by the reor- organizations in the United States, interests of the coal miners, an ac- of class collaboration with the em- in the P.M.A. Without an organi- ganization of industries and by to be held in Chicago in the future, Since that time much water has tual betrayal of the interests of the ployers, to the detriment of the zation of its forces, it will be blown beating down of the workers stand to rally the American working class flowed under the bridge. The new P.M.A. is committed. For what coal miners. These acts of the union stabilized itself momentarily reason, then, one may ask, should leadership of the P.M.A. do not the organization that they brought to smithereens, and they will see dards to a new low level. to fight the capitalist offensive, to map out a program of action to and the social democracy ever more through the gain of local contracts the P.M.A. exist? Its wage-scale stand on a much higher plane. It into existence, dwindle to nothing the farmers from paying the debts protect the workers interests and social Fascist. The Stalinist but throughout the state. It was able is the same. If the Lewis union is will become clearer day by day, through the false policies of its owed to the bankers. The Roose- to rouse our class to action. reaucrats, in the Central Committee, to make these gains only through an organization existing in the in- that their weakening of the demo- leadership and through the heavy velt measures to help the farmers became ever more absolutistic, ever a heroic struggle in which the un-terests of the coal diggers, then cratic rights of the members of the assault of all the forces of reaction is to help the farmers pay the bank- ing national committee power to more stupid and conscienceless. ion gave up many martyrs. With-why the organization of a new un-P.M.A. is only a reflection of the in the Illinois coal fields who look ers what they owe. This agrarian act for this united action, for joint whoever cared to think critically out this struggle the present solidion? This second statement was a introduction and strengthening of with glee upon this campaign measure and the Banking Law, action with all working class or-

Danger Signals at London Meet Exclude L.O. at August 4,1914 and May 17,1933

(Continued from page 1)

Behind the Scenes or more likely, months. The French threatened to split away, but have remained in. Under American prest terested the conference most was sure, the British have come out in his plea for "lengthened credits and favor of higher prices and cheap, normal conditions for Soviet explentiful credit. America meanwhile keeps the key to monetary lion dollars' worth of additional policy-to inflate or not to inflate, how and how much to inflate-in

its own hands.

Talk and Action—a la American In the currency committee itself it has stood for a policy of lower- class, and constitutes grounds for ing the legal minimum gold reserves, using 20 percent silver to Murphy of the British C. P.; but 80 percent gold in such reserves, it is perfectly all right as long as and limiting the use of gold to in- it is addressed to the bourgeoisie ternational settlements and central only. banking reserves-in other words, making permanent and international the present situation in the United States whereby a bank is not obliged to pay out gold against cording to the Foreign Commissar. paper. The French with their affi- On the contrary, prosperity prenail, as it will remove one of their world crisis (so that there is a

phrases of the American delegate ism. Hull in his opening speech on the desirability of lowering tariffs and on the harm done by economic nationalism.

In fact, the whole Roosevelt policy, based on the manipulation correctly that what capitalism through government agencies of needs is not a doctor but an under-American economy on strictly nataker. Which role is Litvinoff protional lines, is in sharp contradictional lines, is in sharp contradiction. tion to the effort to obtain international agreement on currency,

world bank, himself an American. The battle behind the scenes conagreements on tariffs, France passthe speeches before the economic tion! committee had died down, passed In What Next?, page 175, another bill raising the tariff on of German and American origin.

Meantime the whole proceedings are being held up while the head of Roosevelt's "brain trust", Moley, ately set up a hue and cry that we arrives-in other words, until Am- believe in the peaceful coexistence erica places its fist on the agenda of socialism and capitalism, that

Behind the scenes also was the settlement of the question of June sky early in 1932. France paying nothing, England sented the line which we have a Chicago Tribune quotes a coal oper-15 payments on the war debtsin certain circles because of its mann at Brest-Litovsk, or Chichersmall amount.

Litvinoff at London

From the standpoint of the rev-Litvinoff's speech, which throws a glaring light on the extent to which the Menshevist degeneration of the the effort to adapt himself as closely as possible to the bourgeois diplemats by whom he was surrounded, the Soviet delegate deliberately blurred the lines between Soviet Hugenberg made an open demand once to the interests of the work- ing its African colonies and "opening class, speaking as one diplomat ing up territories for settlement to other diplomats, and tangled and construction of great works of himself in hopeless contradictions peace". Undoubtedly it is correct

less-and not only as an immediate but as a long-term perspective, and to shove it off into the distant future, out of the reach of "practical" politics. Was he trying to fool the diplomats, while keeping his own

His conception of non-aggression goes far beyond the tariff truce initiated by the United States, he said. "Speaking of a truce acknowledges the existence of a state of its elementary, "national" interests war. An armistice means cessation were involved did it raise its voice! of all fighting, not merely abstention from the beginning of fresh battles. The same should be true

of economic warfare." In other words, he claims to be even more of an economic pacifist than Roosevelt, by the degree that establish her shattered prestige." an "armistice" is more peaceful than a "truce". He is therefore in favor of removing the restrictions on international trade, just like his of the American liberal magazine,

A Few Pointed Questions

We must ask a serious question. tional movement of goods or is it above all, proposed a policy of initiative and preparation for yinoff) propose to liquidate the So
tional movement of goods or is it above all, proposed a policy of initiative and preparation for action of the control of the riet monopoly of foreign trade, one tion instead of the "khvostism", The "planned economy" of the journed the meeting.

the proletariat, as Stalin proposed Stalinists. in 1923, or does he propose to keep The United States in the mean-it? If he proposes to keep it, why

time has again risked a crisis in does he not say so? Is it because the conference by insisting that the that would compel him to point out question of stabilizing currency be that after all, there is a difference it is necessary to warn the revolupostponed until American prices between the Soviet State and bournad lisen to a "satisfactory" level.

This meant that only "economic" geois states? And would not this raise a question in the minds of the conference about the "peaceful postponed" in the conference about the postponed in the postponed in the conference about the conference be taken up for a period of weeks coexistence of capitalism and socialism"?

The part of his speech which inports", with an offer to buy a bilcommodities under these conditions. To raise the demand for "longerm credits for the Soviet Union"

is counter-revolutionary Trotskyism when addressed to the working expulsion, as in the case of J. L.

But what is the purpose of these long-term credits? To relieve a No-no such situation exists, acliated gold standard satellites are vails throughout the Soviet Union fighting this proposal tooth and and it has not been touched by the strongest pieces from the chess-difference after all between capitalreason for Litvinoff's proposal, in to this end we call upon the workboard-their powerful gold reserve ism and socialism). The real In the economic committee, the his own words, as quoted by the American contribution so far has New York Times, is: "We merely been a proposal for a 10 percent wish to set this conference along tariff reduction all around-hastily the path which, in our opinion, is withdrawn by the American dele-most likely to lead to effective regation itself and labelled as simply sults in alleviating the crisis". a "suggestion by the experts" This Clearly the crisis which is to be showed the emptiness of the alleviated is the crisis of capital

> When the German social democracy at its Leipzig conference in 1930 proposed itself to the bourgeoisie as the "doctors of sick capitalism", Communists answered

The Left Opposition has for years been advocating long-term credits tariffs and trade, as was implied to the Soviet Union, and economic in a speech by the president of the collaboration between the Soviet Union and advanced capiatlist countries-but always on a revtinues, meanwhile. In the face of olutionary basis, always pointing the palayer about international out the value of these demands in mobilizing the masses. What Lited a law raising customs duties on vinoff says today as the Stalinist American products 15 per cent be line was rejected a year and fore the conference opened, and a a half ago by Trotsky as-Stalinist few days ago, before echoes from slanders against the Left Opposi-

read, "During the first stage of the about a hundred products, mostly crisis-more than two years agowe posed this question (Soviet-German collaboration, B. J. F.) in print. And the Stalinists immediwe want to save capitalism, etc." This was written by comrade Trot-

Soviet regime has progressed. In and to present an authentic and

the London Conference. Hugenberg's "Feeler"

Two days after Litvinoff spoke, viet Union.

editorial in denunciation of Hitlerstatement with "the first Soviet fooling the working class instead? Times correspondent remarks. What a degeneration—the smashing of vice of the social reformers to keep the German proletariat brought forward not a single word of protest from the Soviet Union; only when

Stahlhelm into the Nazi movement.

The editorial in Pravda said, "Hitlerism is being forced by economic and financial difficulties to adopt a policy of military adventure by which Germany hopes to

This is precisely what comrade Trotsky said—a year before Hitler took power, in the April 1932 issue the Forum. The difference is that the Left Opposition foresaw, while the Stalinists run after the tail-Is the Soviet monopoly of foreign end of events; that we distinguish-trade a hindrance to the internatrade a mindrance to the international movement of goods or is it tionalists and those of Hitler, and article or the Gillegia Conference when the appeal came for measure up to the task. (See the workers in the audience to join the

of the pillars of the dictatorship of passivity and empty threats of the

In view of the growing danger of war graphically illustrated both by the actions and the failures of the London economic conference, tionary workers of the world again, and with all the emphasis in our power, against the dangers which result from the spineless, compromising, capitulationist policies of the Stalinist leadership in the Soviet Union and the Comintern. This leadership, forced by the iron logic of facts to follow out to the bitterest practical consequences the fundamentally false and petty-bourgeois theory of "socialism in one country", has lost faith in its own working class and in the world proletariat. It supports itself on the bureaucracy at home, and on diplomacy and negotiations with the bourgeoisie, reactionary, liberal and radical according to circumstances, abroad. Confronted with the ravages of an internal crisis, the dangers of intervention from Hitler and the threat of Japan, with the ominous lack of recognition from the United States, The possibility of a gigantic catastrophe lies before the workers, movement of the world unless its forces are reassembled under the leadership of the Communist International and rearmed with a Marxist policy. As the immediate steps ers to demand the reinstatement of the International Left Opposition within the Communist Internation-

gress of the C. I. —B. J. FIELD.

Anti-Fascist Meet

n Page 1) (Conti. caused the Comintern bureaucracy to work so diligently to keep the delegates of the International Left

Opposition away from its halls. It feared the concrete proposals of the Left Opposition for the organization of the European Anti-Hitler united front from organiza tion to organization, beginning with the problem of Austria and proceeding onto a wider plane. For the Stalinist bureaucracy is afraid of its own shadow. It has lost all actual faith in working class action. It is interested only in maintaining its own dwindling and undermined prestige. And for that purpose the united front masquer- that the Stalinist bureaucracy lent ade a la Barbusse is sufficient for

conclusion:

The thought rings very absurd

today. The fact remains, however,

support to the illusions and wish-

thinking of the sister social dem-

"Germany Is Not Italy"

"The Twelfth Plenum has...

"The coming of the German Nazis

events have already proved bank-

rupt, cannot separate itself from

the slogan grown dear to its heart. They hope, and say so, that the

economic crisis will by itself finish

revolutionary proletariat as embodied in C. P. G. But the accusa-

tion levelled against the S. P. G.

on the occasion of the Reichstag

fire already suggested that the So-

cialists would be the next victims.

The Welses and Breitscheids tried

to win a reprieve. They moved

away from the Marxism that they

never belonged to. They "tolerated"

the persecutions of C. P. G. They

"tolerated" the bloody deeds per-

petrated by the Fascists on the so-

cial democratic workers and the

members of the free trade unions.

Wels, too, protested (though he

knew better) against the so-called

exaggerations of German excesses

to resign his post in the adminis-

-the S. P. G. hoped for mercy; it

hoped to be granted a sort of role

as his Nazi Majesty's most obedi-

ent opposition. But Fascism, which

had thrived on social democratic

toleration, never thought of tolerat-

ing the S. P. G. in its turn.

will not allow the Stalinist organ- fluence on a great section of the izers of defeat to cover up their social democratic workers. The unalready overflowing crimes with new expected became a fact: exactly a ing of the nigh 20 year old policy —the line of the entire Second Incrimes. The Left Opposition will year after the famous Stalinist procontinue to expose mercilessly the phecy of January 1932, Hitler acshameful maneuver at Paris and its tually repudiated the "cooperation entire Second International. Stalinist initiators. It will work of the social democracy in the tirelessly to make the truth known carrying out of the Fascist dictatorto the workers of the world and to ship. organize genuine, effective united front action that meets the needs of the real situation.

As we go to press, we have at hand a dispatch from Paris, confirming the scandalous exclu-.sion of the International Left Opposition and rendering a full account of the proceedings. The article will be published in the next issue of The Militant .- Ed.

Workers Must Organize and Fight Against State Capitalist Measures

(Continued from Page 1) most, call for a "safe-and-sound" gradation. class collaboration scheme.

al and the immediate convocation

of the long-overdue Seventh Con-

have been forming 'employes coununionize the industries."

change the status quo. In Illinois tion schemes. they will deal with the unions but in the rest of the fields they will However, if Litvinoff really pre deal with the unorganized. The denounce the reports given by the using oil, or gas, or electricity." and bourgeois policy, did not refer for support for Germany in regain- five or ten percent raise. And the dustrial unions of class struggle, the ground the most active propercent difference....

capitalist reform. They drove this ican working class can build a while making the most impermissi-ble concessions to the bourgeoisie, to see in this a declaration of in-ble concessions to the bourgeoisie, tention to seize and exploit the Soof the working class, and yet the ful enough to abolish capitalism. ism in one country", he, according to the Associated Press report, "urged recognition of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems—capitalism and socialism". Even this was too much to swallow, so the Daily Worker kept this sent-ence out of its report. The "peace ful coexistence of capitalism and socialism" and socialism" means the abandonment of the world revolution, nothing less—and not only as an immediate

Hitler, as comrade Trotsky was one of the whips that drove was one of the whips that drove them to make this a law. If there had been a working class pressure, the bill was one of the ence out of its report. The "peace ful coexistence of capitalism and socialism" means the abandonment of the world revolution, nothing less—and not only as an immediate

Hitler, as comrade Trotsky was one of the whips that drove them to make this a law. If there had been a working class pressure, the bill was one of the whips that drove them to make this a law. If there had been a working class pressure, the bill was one of the whips that drove them to make this a law. If there had been a working class pressure, the bill was one of the whips that drove them to make this a law. If there had been a working class pressure, the bill was open to a far greater degree sugar coated with phrases about labor and labors rights. The difference between reforms and "so-cial" reforms is the difference between the absence of working class of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; p Hitler, as comrade Trotsky fear of the 17 million unemployed solution of the Nationalist "Battle Ring" and the integration of the Stabling of the integration of the Stabling of the integration of the Stabling of the integration of the other stabling of the stabling o class pressure misdirected by the capitalist offensive. misleaders and agents of the cap-Pravda reacted to the Hugenberg misieauers and agents. Without the pressure, as is the case with the Industrial Control Bill, the capitalthe restless working class in check. How the Labor "Leaders" React

The labor leaders are attempting to jump on the band wagon and tinue his remarks Minor snarled help the capitalists put over their Industrial Control Law—of course, is up." with paid jobs, the same as in the war period. The Right wing of the Progressive Miners are competing Alexander started harranguing with Lewis for the job of shackling those present in a fashion to make redress her own affairs and rethe miners to the new slavery. a Holy Roller preacher blush with abroad. He even went so far as Pearcy took a special trip to Wash- envy. No answers to our arguington for this purpose. The Com- ments. No comradely discussion, trative circle of the Second Intermunists, the only ones capable of Instead-vituperation, slander and national. True as it was absurd. pointing out the meaning of the hysteria. Minor almost outdid him-Industrial Control Bill, and of self in trying to create a lynch rallying the class to action against spirit in the audience. But Minor's the capitalist offensive are bound demagogy and vituperation was hand and foot and gagged by the answered subtly by the workers Stalinist bureaucracy, who do not present. When the appeal came for

capitalists will make the future of the workers under the "new deal" attack of the industrialists in complying with the Industrial Control of Progress" witnessed the further Bill. The relation to labor will centralization and concentration of first be kept in the status quo where wealth and capital in the hands of places of the Stalinist Comintern dicts the principles of the Laborfirst be kept in the status quo where ever possible. Where necessary, theindustries will fulfill the requirements of, the law, which, at the to deeper levels of misery and denote the many in all other sections of the law. ments of the law, which, at the to deeper levels of misery and de C. I.

The working class battle against the steel mens' conference, says, by the Industrial Control Bill will cannot be—such a thing as a so-tions "The Youngstown steel companies have to be fought in the sphere of called "classical" Fascism, and that unemployment relief, the struggle all theories derived from the his-Federation of Labor, which through the "planned economy" means. The tional, January 10, 1933, page 19.) President Green recently announced Communists must present a Marxthe start of a nation-wide drive to ian analysis, organize the class, especially to head off the action of How the Coal Operators Take It | the Greens, Wells and Lewises, who fought any attempt or suggestion to measures for their class collabora-

The Workers' Answer: Class Struggle Organization

Trance paying nothing, England and Italy making small "token" right to expect from a Communist to be one of the most difficult. It It is not difficult to understand and Italy making small "token" payments, the latter received with diplomatic irony as to the "disdiplomatic irony as to the "as Trotsky talked to Kuehl
Tright to expect from a Communist to be one of the most difficult. It is and workers "equality" on paper of its organizations, the eradiction is a law which gives the captal that a law which gives the captal is and workers "equality" on paper of its belief in itself and in its furnish to expect from a Communist to be one of the most difficult. It is and workers "equality" on paper of its belief in itself and in its furnish to expect from a Communist to be one of the most difficult. It is and workers "equality" on paper of its belief in itself and in its furnish to the mass nothing in reality, except giving the strongest organized force greater maturity and acuteness of think of loyalty to Socialism. At add a dollar to the price of shoes. the right to do what it pleases. There is no substitute for shoes. In this case the capitalists are well in Germany, the hellish work of the in to Lloyd George, or Rakovsky to the French concessionaries, and to the French concessionaries, and to the French concessionaries, and to the French concessionaries are the capitalists are well in Germany, the hellish work of the last session of the Reichstag hold back nothing. The rank and to the French concessionaries, and life has dollar to the price of a ton of addition it is they who have made pear as a pale, almost humane, exif his correct revolutionary line has bourgeois line has bourgeois level out a pencil and start figure has a pale, almost numane, experiment, in comparison with the newly elected party presidium. Our lack of pressure, was the theme of the conference of file of the former S. P. G. are with the newly elected party presidium. Our lack of pressure, was the theme of the conference of file of the former S. P. G. are with the newly elected party presidium. olutionary workers, the outstanding development of the London economic conference so far has omic conference so far has been long to the conference so far has been long to the stabling the present of the revolutionary movement to development of the conference so far has been long to the stabling the newly elected party presidium. Out leaders. A strong wave of development, in comparison with the lock of pressure, work of the German National Solutionary movement to due to the lack of any worthwhile, pression and a wave of renegacy using oil, or gas, or electricity. Really Be Victorious? Nov. 1931.) Associated Press and the New York The industrialist conferences are ions as well as to a blunderbuss secret but any one who has an leadership within the Communists ounce of brains can easily see that ranks (that of the Stalinists) gives plausible arguments, maligned and for the social democratic delegates them is our task. We are sure that and to present an authentic and full report of Litvinoff's speech at full report of Litvinoff's speech at another dollar on a pair of shoes odds in deciding the whole question. The Stallmists gives placed at the greater section of the social their panicky helplessness behind that dictated by the conscience of democratic workers will help in the another dollar on a pair of shoes odds in deciding the whole question.

capitalists will pocket the twenty capable of bringing working class letarian forces of Germany. And pressure upon the capitalist system. even today the bureaucracy, which The Industrial Control Bill is a Upon such a foundation, the Amer-

-HUGO OEHLER.

Hugenberg

(Continued from Page 1) "get away from here, your time

Then Minor and following him, -M. G. | ready to murder 35 workers, was

(Continued from Page 1) a possibility that in time to come

"National Holiday". Hardly in.... not even a penny would be offered had Leipart returned from marchtion" was inconceivable. And not the Comintern, arrived at the same "Fuscism, nourished by the So- cialism. cial Democracy, will be obliged to "Even in the case the Nazis are

ocracy in order to arrive at power.' will be no question of the bour-(Trotsky, November 1929.) geoisie not desiring to get along Where were now the speculations without the cooperation of the soof the social democratic bureau- the Belgian Social Democracy goes cial democracy in the solidification of the Fascist dictatorship." —Die cracy? Where were the fancy a step farther: theories of Stalinism? International, January 1932.)

The odor of the decay of the beheaded social democracy contamin- capitulation before Hitler's terror ated the air. The vote for Hitler and demagogy." ocratic bureaucracy. And all of at the recent "great statement on been said. The Left Opposition this could not fail but have an in- foreign affairs" was—temporarily— says Le Peuple. "Completed", howthe last link in the chain of treason. ever, was what had already long crime threatened to pull down the scapegoats "completed" with such

> The pure instinct of self-preservation has led the leading spirits abroad, and there appeared in the of the Second International to move social democratic press an article away from the latest acts in Ger- of his entitled "Do Not Strike many. But they are moving away Them!" Not even he dares to deworking class. They consoled each vote for Hitler.

cantation was thrown again and be presented in the Reichstag:
again at the masses. "Germany is "The Labor-Socialist Internation not Italy." This mystical dictum, all is convinced that the consent of not good enough to hypnotize rab- a number of the social democratic bits, was considered sufficiently po-deputies of the German Reichstag tent to put to sleep the best organ to a resolution expressing unreized working class of the capital- served solidarity with the recent ist world. "Germany is not Italy" declaration of the German governblabbered the degenerate social ment, does not express the true democratic bureaucrats out the convictions of the German workwindows of their offices. "Germany ing class. It declares that the

Arbeiter Zeitung, Oda Oldberg "examines" editorially the last Reichstag vote of the German social dem-

"Do these people really, believe does the word 'union' appear'. "The tion of the workers into class the necessity of first striking down will be able to make out this patto steal a march on the American working class must be told what tractions." (Communist International Justice and cunning injustice are so cleverly intertwined? Didn't the Stalinists give un- The workers will not understand; abashed henchman's service to the the sacrifice has been in vain. The Social Democracy in that way? Did workers will consider themselves that not amount to actually facil-The soft coal operators have desire to utilize the State capitalist littler's accession to power? should have ever been attempted." The Left Opposition raised its voice

is the true face of the Second International. They-the workersto power would mean, first of all, will only "consider" themselves between the destruction of the flower of the trayed. Haven't they been betray-

the social contradictions prevalent

powerful, organized industrial un- Really Be Victorious?, Nov. 1931.) animously against the participation of the social democratic delegates The best elements, however, will The bureaucrats, left without any in the Reichstag vote. There was look for new ways. To stand by or a ton of coal. If prices go up there is only one way the work-thirty percent, the kind hearted ing class can answer the capitalists the phrase: "Germany is not the Socialist International—to decreation of the new Communist Italy!". This they still chanted clare the Hitler comedy null and party. In this task the Left Opcapitalists and their government and their Industrial Control Laws: when the boots of the Nazi storm void by their absence,—to unmask position will stand in the front will beat the drums and announce a The organization of powerful in troopers were already trampling to the Reichstag comedy as the ironic line.

kicked out to the devil, and Hitler and miserable parody that the Gerarranged the miserable comedy of man workers refuse to participate

"I do not care whether these delefor their most obliging "tolera- ing behind the Swastika banner gates have placed themselves outwhen he was called back to be in- side of the German social democraonly the social democratic appar- carcerated in the famous "sick- tic party, but I do declare that by atus, but also the bureaucracy of house". The free trade unions be their attitude they have broken the the Stalinist faction, dominating came Fascist. A week later, the last faith with the spirit and soli-S. P. G., too, was done away with. durity of the International of So-

That sounds radical, but it is taken into the government there break the head of the Social Dem- only Leon Blum, who throws out his chest now and then and speaks of the "International of Socialism". Le Peuple, the central organ of

> "Finally there appeared at the Reichstag session a greatly reduced part of the social democratic fraction....and completed the sad

"Completed" the capitulation,

consistency on May 17, 1933. In the meanwhile, Stampfer went A damnable and blighting catch only from one section of the social fend the shameless treachery of the phrase ran through the ranks of moving away from the policy, the cial democratic Reichstag fraction. through all the organizations of the inatural result of which was the He tries to explain by alluding to such influences as the "compulsion other with it. It was thought up On May 18, 1933, the bureau of of conscience", the fear of physical and set in circulation by frighten the Labor and Socialist Internation, "the consciousness of reed, helpless bureaucrats, at their tional assembled in Paris under the sponsibility to the workers who wits' end. "Germany is not Italy", chairmanship of Vandervelde for a were thus to be protected against "Germany is not Italy",—in pom- "thorough consideration of the further terrorism." Herein the role pous and heroic speeches and num-most recent events in Germany". It of the social democracy shows itberiess newspaper articles, the in-drafted the following resolution to self in complete clarity. It did its working class. It is not even taken aback by the most gruesome crimes. And then it calls all of that "service to the people". This service was Hitler's most fertile ground.

"The workers will consider themselves betrayed", writes Olberg. They have been betrayed. Betrayed for decades, and not merely by the last Reichstag vote, which was merely the crowning of the betray-

The S. P. G. Is Dead

The S. P. G. is no more. Their The Chicago Tribune, reporting the capitalist offensive organized shown that there is not—and there ocracy and asks the following ques- past "work" has had the good effect of making itself superfluous. The S. P. G. has finished its work. that the German workers will un lits members are leaderless. For cils'. In none of these movemetns for wages, hours, and the unionizatory of Italian Fascism, regarding derstand this attitude, that they the degenerated bureaucracy shrinks from illegal work, being, indeed, Industrialists, it is said, are trying struggle unions. To do this, the the working class, are bloodless abtern of lies and facts in which completely unsuited for it. Members and party functionaries who want to do such work are frowned on. The bureaucrats die, as they have lived, as cynical scoundrel. An S. P. G. leader in Leipzig, from whom betrayed....With Hitler no pacts the party members demanded the issue of information material in This is actually said: "they will regards to the crisis, replied to consider themselves betrayed." Here them: "Clever, aren't you? But we don't care to go to jail. If you want to publish something attend

> Only very rarely can a more courageous word be heard. In "The question of participation of any rate, it is a unique case, which, was the theme of the conference of file of the former S. P. G. are with-

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