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THE MILITANT

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Philadelphia Gripped by Transport Strike

NRA and Labor Leaders Combine to "Outlaw" Workers' Fight for Bread

Philadelphia.—Philadelphia is labor's latest battlefield. Class struggle looks horns with class collaboration and outright strike-rbeaking. The movement of the workers demonstrates its inherent strength, unspent vitality and capacity for struggle by breaking out of the bounds set for it by labor's administration "friends" and "leaders". And, also it is refuting those disciplines who for years have been shouting "all is dead in the A. F. of L. company unions." Pushing upward against tremendous pressure 15,000 workers in various fields of transportation are out on strike. The entire police force is on 'riot mobilization', howls are up for U. S. Marines, the leading gentry of the National Labor Board plead for "peace and patience", the local 'friendly' **Record** shouts "Do Not Strike". To finish it off in classic manner, Daniel J. Tobin, International President of the Union denounces the strike as "outlaw"

Causes of the Strike

What is this strike? In short it is a revolt against the conditions the NRA is defending. With inevitable logic the organized workers found their way to class struggle. The urgent need of labor to protect itself and its organizations made this action imperative. The NRA is demonstrating the hollowness of its impartiality and defense of labor. Facing the realities of class conflict it can betray and betray, but not with impunity nor for long without a crack-up. This is what is happening.

Three weeks ago the drivers of the "Yellow", "Quaker" and "Brown and White" Taxicab companies went out on strike in defense of their union, one hundred percent. The cab companies are all part of Philadelphias Rapid Transit Co.—the transit trust here—backbone of the open shop and company union (Mitten plan). The taxi men are organized into the Taxi Drivers Union of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of the A. F. of L. and has socialist influence. A militant strike policy and sympathy of the city's workers found the P. R. T.—bankers—Vare machine combine adamant. Attacked from all sides—police and gangsters on one hand, and pressure of the National Labor Board on the other, the union agreed to arbitration. The P. R. T. rejected the offer and refused to reinstate the strikers to their jobs.

The Workers' Strike Back.

Aroused to a fight against this arrogant atitude of the bosses the workers struck back. Despite the

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Hold Torgler Despite Fire Trial Verdict

The Leipzig Supreme Court has found Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanev not guilty in the infamous Reichstag fire-trial recently concluded in Nazi Germany. The flimsy character of the frame-up against thees comrades was clear to all. Even the world capitalist press was compelled to admit the innocence of the defendants.

The decision of the Leipzig Court is a maneuver to quiet the rising wave of protest against Hitler terror. It further attempts to white-wash the German Fascist Party, which according to all available evidence, is directly responsible for the notorious Reichstag fire. The self-confessed culprit, Van Der Lubbe, has been sentenced to death.

The verdict does not mean the freedom of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanev. Their lives are still in danger. The Nazis bloodhounds will release these working class prisoners only under the greatest pressure. Already, reports in the press tell of Hitler's plan to put Torgler on trial for "high treason". The threats of Goebels, Rosenberg and other Fascist murderers against the four defendants can only be frustrated by the active protest of all workers and workers' organizations.

A movement has been set on foot which demands "the immediate and safe release of Dimitroff, Torgler, Tanev, and Popoff into the hands of the International Committee now in Leipzig." The existing "National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism" should be broadened into a genuine united front of all workers' organizations which will be able to arouse the American working class in defense of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanev.

OPEN FORUM

MAX SHACHTMAN
on
THE WAR AROUND INFLATION
at
Sunday, January 7, 1934
8:15 P. M.
International Workers School Hall
126 East 16th Street, nr Irving Pl.
Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)
Questions — — Discussion
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

Roosevelt's "Planned Work"

A Worker's Report

"Six months of this and I'll be fit for the lunatic asylum"—this remark of a former taxicab driver sums up the attitude of the C. W. A. workers to the degrading nonsense which they must go through in order to qualify for the Roosevelt Dole in Prospect Park, Brooklyn.

It is not that we are forced to do hard work, for long hours at low wages. No, we spend 8 hours a day going through the motions of work. Shovelling dirt on a truck only to see it dumped back exactly where it was taken from. Carrying sand in shovels for about 25 yards while wheel-barrows to say nothing of trucks are lying idle. Then being told "don't take a full shovel, that piles got to do you, men, for the rest of the day"—Then when we gather in a group to talk, the foreman again speaks. "Say boys, don't stand around talking, you'll be getting me in wrong. Take it easy but act as though you were doing something." So, we start to "work"—push the shovel slowly into the pile of earth, lean upon it for a while, pick it up, dump half the dirt off and with slow and measured tread carry a couple of handfuls of earth some 25 yards.

What the Workers Talk About.

We walk back in a group and the mental confusion of the unemployed is revealed in the conversation. "Father Coughlin is right. What we need is to bring silver back." "You know Roosevelt is using some of Stalin's ideas" "What this country needs is two or three Mussolinis". In two things the great majority are agreed. 1. Roosevelt is doing his best for us. 2. The bankers are fighting Roosevelt and are also responsible for the crisis. The third most popular illusion is the wisdom, courage and militancy of Father Coughlin as a champion of the "people".

Our gang started to work November 1, just before the city election. We were all "relief cases". We are assigned to Prospect Park. Since our transfer to the C. W. A., we work 8 hours a day, three days a week and get $15. The tasks are varied. Gathering leaves, planting trees, spreading a compost of earth and manure around trees, digging ditches, sweeping streets, etc., etc.

One of our first task under Roosevelt's "Five Year Plan" is characteristic of the rest. We were put to work on a pile of manure. The pile was quite large and of irregular shape, high in the center and sloping down towards ragged edges. A couple of men, with an "engineer" in charge, took stakes and cord and marked the pile off into a rectangle. Then with shovels and forks our gang of 25 went to work with a will. At the end of the day the manure pile was a beautiful rectangle, edges square and straight as a die, and of uniform height throughout.

A Pedestal of Manure

A pedestal of manure! A statue of the author of the New Deal from the same material would have completed the picture. Two or three days later the pile was carted away. "If you all take an interest in this here work, they'll promote you to the lunatic asylum", said a Negro worker after that incident.

"There'll be no work on Christmas but you'll have to come in another day to make up for it," we were told. "Give me some real work to do, and I'll make up for a week of Christmases in the next two hours", said an old man.

Former building trade workers, chauffeurs, bakers, clothing workers—we stand and question our own sanity for putting up with this nonsense. There is nothing to do, it is cold and miserable and we wait leaning on our shovels, waiting for quitting time. A whistle blows, we stop doing nothing and start for home.

At first we were under the jurisdiction of the City but have since been transferred to the C. W. A. Two weeks passed without pay. The word was passed around—"No pay, no work", and in short order a parade of about 50% of the entire crew were marching to the main office. There, with plenty of police around, the cause of the delay was explained. Similar and much more dramatic actions by other groups in the City and also throughout the nation show that the spirit of the unemployed is not at all broken and also reveal a deep dissatisfaction with the nature of the "work".

—**RELIEF WORKER.**

Vandals Wreck League Hall

Brooklyn.—In recent weeks two attempts were made to destroy the Brownsville headquarters of the Communist League. Last Wednesday morning, Dec. 20th, the banner on the wall reading: "For a New Communist International!" was burned; the wall itself displaying black marks of burning. No other part of the hall was touched showing that the vandals were frightened by their own deeds.

Wednesday, Dec. 27th, another raid of the headquarters took place. Banners, articles on the bulletin board, and pictures of Lenin and Trotsky were torn from the wall. The picture of the latter was torn in shreds. The tea-cups in the kitchen were broken. The literature closet was broken open, **Militants** and pamphlets ripped, thrown over the floors and some stolen. Again some fear of discovery must have ended the raid at this point.

There is little doubt as to who is responsible for these raids. It is not the first time that the Stalinists have broken into headquarters of the Communist League and have stolen or destroyed some of its material.

Hotel Workers Driving Toward General Strike

Amalgamated Union Formulates Program of Demands

The efforts of the hotel and restaurant workers of New York City to obtain a serious improvement in the intolerable conditions now existing in their industry through building up their union, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, have now entered on a new and higher phase. Up to now, the major tasks have been to gather forces, and to lead teh workers away from the illusions of the NRA and toward a militant policy based on the formulation of concrete demands and the struggle for their enforcement. The new phase consists of the preparation for the enforcement of these demands through a general strike.

Substantial successes are being achieved by the organization drive; thousands of workers have joined in the last few months, and hundreds more are coming in every week. What is still better, the number of workers coming in has been increasing still faster in recent weeks, and particularly since the beginning of the stubbornly-contested strike at the Hotel Montclair.

Big Hotels Organized

Considering the total number of the unorganized workers in the industry, much still remains to be done. But a magnificent beginning has already been made, particularly in the kitchen and dining-room departments of the large hotels, dozens of which are 70% to 95% unionized. In this field, the tasks are to complete unionization in those hotels where the union already has members, to organize the houses where the workers are becoming attarcted to us because of our consistent program and our activity, and particularly, to broaden the base of the organization among the hundreds and thousands of smaller restaurants now that the peaks of the industry are well on the way to complete organization.

As to the NRA and the codes, the workers are increasingly realizing that they have notning good to look for in that direction. Both the hotel and the restaurant codes are understood to be nothing but blows directed at the workers, and the apparatus of the NRA for the enforcement of any provisions which seemed to offer some protection for the interests of the workers, has been proved by living experience to be nothing but a hollow sham. The workers now realize that only their own organization can do anything for them

Demands of the Union

The first step in the new phase of the development of the union was taken last Friday, December 22, when meetings of the dining-room and the kitchen departments dis-

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A LETTER FROM MOONEY

California State Prison
San Quentin, Calif.
November 18, 1933.

My dear Comrades and
Fellow Unionists:

During the month of January of this year, I issued a call for a United Front of all working class organizations to send delegates to the Free Tom Mooney Congress, held in Chicago, April 29 to May 1, inclusive.

Under my direction and instructions, the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee spent almost $2,000 to organize that Congress. It was not my intention with the Mooney case. Such a proceedure would naturally cause confusion in the minds of the working class, receiving appeals from two separate organizations, from two different parts of the country, for the same purpose.

No Report of Congress

Out of the Free Tom Mooney Congress came the NATIONAL TOM MOONEY COUNCIL OF ACTION, with headquarters in New York City. This information I learned several weeks after the Congress adjourned. During the Congress, I received one telegram. I never did receive a report from the Congress, or any one connected with it, as to just what took place. I did not receive a copy of the Congress resolution, until three weeks after its adjournment. No one attending that Congress has taken the trouble to make a report to me of what actually happened there.

A month after the Congress adjourned, I was told that a debt of $2,000 connected with the Congress, was still unpaid. From another source, I learned that each of the delegates to that Congress were pledged to return to their home organizations, and collect their quota to pay off that debt.

During the latter part of May, the National Tom Mooney Council of Action organized a National Tom Mooney Tag Day, using the organizational machinery of the International Labor Defense to carry this work to a conclusion. The first object of this Tag Day, was to liquidate the Congress debt, of which I was first informed to be $2,000, and which I have since been informed, by Roger Baldwin, the Treasurer of the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, to be only $1,500.

Want to Hear from Delegates.

Since the Free Tom Mooney Congress adjourned, and the formation of the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, the activities of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee has been suspended for the lack of funds to carry on the fight. Whether this was deliberately planned or not, I am not now prepared to state, but I would like to get the actual feelings of all of those delegates that attended that Congress—a sort of personal report from each of them as to just took place there—what was the spirit of the delegates towards me, personally, and also towards the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee. Also telling me what sum was raised by you and your organization in the National Tom Mooney Tag Day Campaign, and what other sums have been raised by you or your organization, as pledged as your quota to liquidate the debt left from the Free Tom Mooney Congress and the later sales of Free Tom Mooney stamps.

The Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee is penniless, with a debt of $4,000. I have just 60c to my credit on the prison books, and have not been able to order any prison commissaries for the past four months. In spite of this tremendous obstacle, my defense committee is now having prepared a 132-page booklet, exposing this foul conspiracy against me. It will tell the story that I had hoped to tell in my recent trial, but was prevented from doing so by the powerful bankers and industrialists who are in complete control. Just as soon as my defense committee can secure the necessary funds, this booklet will be published. Will you help me do this? I want to circulate these booklets by the hundreds of thousands.

Appeals for New Campaign

Some time during November or December, my attorneys, Frank P. Walsh of New York City, and John F. Finnerty of Washigton, D. C., will attempt to secure my freedom on a writ of Habeas Corpus in the United States Supreme Court. A tremendous wave of agitation, demanding my freedom, should precede this move. The United States Senators and Representatives from your state, together with the President and the Attorney General of tohse United States, should be appealed to cooperate in this move to secure justice for an innocent man.

I am herewith enclosing a Press

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Shoe Workers Amalgamate Unions at Historic Convention at Boston

Boston.—The amalgamation convention of independent shoe workers' unions which has been meeting in Boston since early December came to a close on the 21st after a stormy but successful session of 10 days. This convention transformed amalgamation from a hope to an accomplished fact by bringing into being the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. It was marked by threatened sabotage from out-going reactionary officialdom on the one hand and by disruptive maneuvers of the Stalinists on the other, but repulsed both determinedly. New hopes of strength in unity have been aroused.

Resolutions of a political nature adopted by the convention are the harbinger of a more developed political consciousness in the minds of the American worker. Already bitter experiences have stripped bandages from the eyes of this group of workers concerning the NRA and its paraphernalia.

60,000 Workers Represented

A group of 184 deleates represented some 60,000 shoe workers of 5 formerly independent unions with locals from Maine to Missouri. The National Shoe Workers' Association had 79 deleates, the Shoe Workers' Protective Union 59, the Independent Shoe Workers' Union of Salem 16, the Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union of New York 28, and the Brotherhood of Greater New York 2. In addition there were fraternal delegates and observers from other independent unions in other parts of the country.

The Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, furnished the first discordant note in the convention by their shameless attempt to back-down on their previously written agreement with the provisional committee, which was that they would attend the convention as an independent union like the others, that they would sever their connection with the T.U.U.L.

Bitter Fight over T. U. U. L.

A bitter fight on the floor followed their attempt to have the question decided by referendum. Their plea of misunderstanding the terms of the agreement was completely exposed as the lie it was by two members of their own delegation who subsequently took the floor. The first, Frank Costello, secretary of the resolutions committee, dramatically offered his resignation in view of the attitude of the leaders of his New York delegation who obviously placed the interests of the T. U. U. L. ahead of amalgamation. This was a high point of the convention as this worker tore his badge from his chest, disclaimed any communist leanings and declared himself "in fact a regulation catholic". As he prepared to leave his place, he was surrounded by agitated delegates who, with cries of "No! No!" persuaded him to remain.

He was quickly followed by another member of that delegation who seconded Costello's views, and made clear to all delegates that the New York rank and filers were overwhelmingly in favor of amalgamation. He stated further with some bitterness that the principal cause of the delay in their joining the amalgamation movement was their being misinformed as to the attitude of the New England Shoe workers toward the A. F. of L. As far as he was concerned he was "against the A. F. of L., the TUUL, or any other hell"—which sums up the disillusionment of most of these workers. The Industrial Union delegation was finally forced to comply and pledged itself anew to sever its connections with the T. U. U. L.

Old Officers Removed

A resolution to abolish all offices of the several independent unions on Janaury 15 and to elect a coordinating committee of 15 to handle the affairs of the new union until newly elected officers take up their duties in April, was adopted by an overwhelming majority. This body-blow to deposed salaried officials of the old unions set off fireworks.

W. B. Mahan, general organizer of the National Shoe Workers' Association openly defied this convention decision in a statement published later in a newspaper stating that he would not give up control of his organization, unless so instructed by the Lynn Shoe workers, and if the new coordinating committee expected him to comply then they lacked intelligence. A Mrs. McGee, official of a Lynn Stitchers' local, unsuccessfully attempted to recall that locals' delegates at a meeting the same night. Officials of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union at a similar meeting decide likewise to resist being supplanted.

When this news broke on the floor of the convention the next morning the anger of the delegates threw that body into an uproar and the hooting and jeering of Mahan's name boded ill for any attempts old union officials might make to sabotage the amalgamation about to be realized after a difficult year's work. There was no mistaking the temper of the rank and file.

New Constitution Discussed

With the opening of discussions on the floor of the draft of a constitution prepared by the constitution committee a difficult part of the convention's task started. A 53-page document it was first decided to discuss and vote on each article separately. After a day and a half it became apparent to all that such a procedure would require several weeks to complete consideration of the entire document. The major cause of the slow progress lay in the petty obstructionist tactics of the Stalinist delegation of the New York Industrial Union. Their extended criticism of petty details in each article acted to further discredit them. As a consequence they failed to arouse sympathy and support for the really meritorious proposal of industrial unionism when it was put forth.

The role of the T. U. U. L. delegates as impediments to rapid progress was recognized by the convention when a motion was finally made and carried to recommit the draft to the constitution committee which should confer with 2 representatives of the New York delegation and iron out further differences and then return the document to the delegates for consideration. This was done. The constitutional committee reappeared before the convention the next day with the results of their conference. The two added delegates had requested and were granted changes amounting in all to twelve words!

Local Autonomy in New Union

Following further consideration by the convention delegates of certain parts of the proposed constitution it was voted to submit the proposed constitution to referendum of all locals for discussion and amendment or approval.

As finally adopted for submission to referendum the constitution incorporates certain features of a progressive nature compared with this industry's old unions. Among these are provisions for including in their ranks workers in industries closely allied to them: leather workers, counter-makers, wooden-heel makers, last and pattern-makers and workers in foot-wear industries generally. There is also provision for the recall of officers by vote of 5 locals of a District. Provision for local autonomy means no local's charter may be revoked except after trial by other locals of its district, and means also that the form of organization shall be decided by each district. Thus the New York Industrial Union may retain its present form. General officers are to be a General organizer and a General Secretary-Treasurer. A general executive board of 21 members will represent 3 major districts.

Contradictory Resolutions

Among the resolutions adopted by the convention were these: (1) Condemnation of the NRA as not operable to the interests of workers (2 Demand for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys. (3) Demand for the unconditional release of Tom Mooney. (4) For unemployment insurance, cost to be borne by the government and employers. (5) Petitioning the National Recovery Board for an appropriation by the Federal Government of $25,000,000 for the purchase and distribution of shoes for the needy. (6) All labor leaders should withdraw from the National Recovery Board and the Labor Advisory Board. (7) Against compulsory arbitration. (8) For reopening consideration of the NRA shoe code and a demand for the 30 hour week and minimum weekly wage for unskilled of $18. (9) In commendation of Father Coughlin, the radio priest for the good work he is doing for the workers!

In connection with this last resolution it must be told that Israel Zimmerman, a well-known Lovestoneite, voted in favor of the Coughlin resolution. This rankest kind of opportunism that fails to tell the workers, for example, that the inflation program advocated by Coughlin is the most vicious attack on the income and the welfare of the working class, cannot be condemned too bitterly. Influence gained by sacrifice of principles can never operate to disillusion workers.

Brocton Brotherhood to Come In

Paul Salvaggio, originator of the planning board and the leading spirit for amalgamation in the early days of the movement, was honored by the assembled delegates and it was unanimously voted to constitute his lasters' local of Boston as Local No. 1 in the new United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union in recognition of his pioneer efforts that culminated in the amalgamation.

The Brockton fraternal delegates representing the Brotherhood of Allied Shoe Crafts with 10,000 members announced that they would join the new union very soon, that they had been double-crossed by their leaders and that one local had already torn up its charter.

In anticipation of trouble with defiant officials of the old unions whom it was voted to depose, the planning board (the original rank and file body) was directed to continue its existence until the last bolt is in place. As matters stand at the time of writing certain officials of both the National and the Protective have expressed defiance of the order directing them to give up January 15, but it appears that this time the momentum of the amalgamation movement is too great for them to resist.

It was voted to hold the next biennial convention in St. Louis on the first Monday of November 1935.

—**SHOE WORKER.**

CELEBRATE WITH THE MILITANT

At the New Year's Eve Masquerade Ball

Germania Hall
16th St. & Third Av
DECEMBER 31st, 1933
ADMISSION: 50 CENTS

The Railroad Brotherhoods

The Reactionary Union Officialdom

In discussing the rise and fall of the Railroad Unions in this series of articles we want at the very beginning to make ourselves clear on a few questions. In the first place we not only admit, but point out to the workers repeatedly, that every thing we have got so far such as shorter hours, better wages and working conditions, have been brought about by the craft unions on the railroads. We further admit and also point out that the craft union was a progressive force as long as that kind of organization was in a position to function to the interests of its membership. It was only when industrial development outgrew the craft system of organization that the Brotherhood leadership and program gradually became more and more reactionary.

We must bear in mind that no human institution ever became so useless and reactionary that it did not benefit a few who live on special privilege. This was true of chattel slavery and Czarism, and it holds equally good in Fascism. This fundamental principle now operates in the railroad brotherhoods. A few, the well paid officials, benefit by keeping the railroad workers divided in 21 independent unions in one industry, while the members, the many, suffer by this arrangement. It is just on account of this development that the interest of the brotherhood officials becomes more and more separated from that of the rank and file, and we run into the contradictions which flow from these conditions constantly when we are trying to introduce needed changes in the structure and program of these railroad crafts.

We find the officials against us on every turn because they benefit by keeping things in the railroad unions as they are. Their fat and easy jobs depend upon keeping the railroad workers divided and ignorant concerning their best interest. That is the reasons why such leadership must protect itself from the rank and file by gag laws and a censored labor press. A craft union official cannot afford to permit progressive ideas to circulate freely among the membership. It would be detrimental to his interest no matter how beneficial it would be to the members.

It is to the interest of the R. R. unions to amalgamate, but it is against the union officials. It is for the best interest of the railroad workers to have free expression in their unions, but such a change from the present gag rule would be destructive to the special privileges enjoyed by the craft bureaucrats.

Any proposal for concerted and aggressive action for wages, pensions or working conditions and shortr hours by the railroad workers would be against the best interest of the officials because the craft system will prove itself out of date io such a movement and its leadership would be compelled to expose its bankruptcy to lead in such a struggle. In other words, we have arrived at a stage of development in the railroad brotherhoods where the membership will find its leadership arrayed against them on every constructive proposal.

It is to the interest of every railroad worker to understand this and act accordingly. But we cannot remedy these conditions by leaving the union and doing nothing. We are only entitled to criticize the performances of others when we propose something better ourselves. We must stay with the organized workers wherever they are and do good and faithful work behind constructive proposals and, by this practical method in dealing with every day problems of the workers in their unions, show them the needed changes in the program, leadership and structure of the railroad unions.

—A. E.

The Teachers and the Class Struggle

One reason teachers have been slow to struggle is that they constituted an aristocratic stratum of the working class. Their wage level was higher than the average wage level of the workers. They enjoyed job security to a great extent and all sorts of perquisites the worker in mine or factory never had under capitalist rule. And on top of that they are permeated with bourgeois ideology to a degree that places them, in this sense, at the rear of the class.

But all that is beginning to change now. The crisis is affecting them ruthlessly. The signs point to resistance by them against the attacks on their teaching and living conditions.

Teachers' salaries in New York and elsewhere are fixed by law and are changeable only by legislative action in the state legislature or local governmental agency. In the first three years of the crisis prices fell precipitately. Teachers wages, consequently, which apparently remained fixed actually rose in purchasing value. This appreciation together with the yearly increments made mandatory under the law in some cities, constituted a more or less steady improvement in their condition.

Only when the crisis began to interfere with the smooth functioning of this ideal set-up, as in Chicago where no wages were paid for the better part of a year, did the teachers put up some kind of a fight. In New York the state legislature cut wages about six percent. Five hundred teachers joined the Teachers Union in New York City in the period of the wage cut fight.

Schools everywhere are closing or curtailing their terms. Teachers wages are in arrears and are piling up. Further wage cuts are impending. The conditions for organized resistance are maturing.

In New York the defense fight is centering around the attempt by one means or another to prevent legislative reduction of wages and reduction or abolishment of increments. In itself this fight is correct. But it is not sufficient even from the point of view of defeating attempts to cut wages.

Wages are reduced in other ways tahn by legislative action. The government is making determined efforts to drive prices up to, at least the 1926 level. With wages fixed up by legislative action the rising cost of living will constitute a wage cut. If the government resorts to currency inflation to accomplish its purpose the real wage cut will be drastic.

The experience of the inflation of 1861-65, is very instructive. Teachers wages then were fixed by law. Within that period the average wage of the teachers on a national scale was increased by 37.4 per cent. But, as a result of the currency inflation prices rose 116.8 percent. Consequently, teachers salaries, measured in terms of their real purchasing power, fell to 62.3 of the 1860 basis a practical wage cut of 37.7 per cent.

It follows that even a successful fight against legislative reductions of wages will not, necessarily, prevent wage cuts. That does not mean that this fight should be abandoned. It means that it should be broadened.

Just as the workers struggle for higher wages to keep pace with rising prices so should the teachers organize and fight for higher wages to meet the increase in the cost of living.

—T. STAMM.

Successfull Meet in Brownsville

Defying and protesting the threats of the Stalinists, over 500 workers, including several dozen Communist party members and sympathizers, and a labor jury representing five workers organizations and the American Civil Liberties Union attended on Wednesday evening, December 20th, the Brownsville meeting of the Communist League on Russian recognition and the Communist International. This meeting was held after the disruption by the Stalinists of the previous Thursday evening's meeting on the same subject. The workers' guard was well prepared to insure an orderly meeting. In addition, representatives of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the Jewish Workers' Party (Left Paole Zion), the Industrial Workers of the World, the Workers Unemployed League, the 22 A. D. Branch of the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union were present as a workers jury to place the responsibility for any attempted disruption of the meeting.

Two speeches from the floor attracted much interest. First, that of a Jewish worker who prefaced his criticism of comrade Shachtman's speech by condemning the hooligan tactics of the Stalinists which he witnessed at the preceding Thursday evening meeting. Second, that of a young girl, former member of the Young Communist League and Unemployed Council, who is well known to the Brownsville Left wing workers for her militancy. She stated that she did not agree with the program of the Communist League, but strongly condemned the members of the Communist party who had criticized Al Dasch's record in the C. P. She sharply scored the disruptive hooligan tactics of the Stalinists in breaking up workers' meetings and cited the previous meeting of the Communist League, at which she had been present, as an example. Her speech was received with great enthusiasm by overwhelming majority of the workers present. They showed their approval of workers' democracy. The Communist League scored another victory in Brownsville. It will nonetheless remain on guard.

A Picture of the League Today

A look at the League today, in its palpitating growth throughout the country and the excellent types of serious fighters it is attracting into its ranks in ever-growing numbers, offers a really encouraging picture. It is a far cry now from the time when those who expelled us from the official party scornfully dubbed us the "three generals without an army". Still, there is no intention at all on my part to exaggerate our numbers and influence or to create false impressions of a greater strength than actually exists. But the League is making a place for itself the conditions now developing in the country.

Growth of the League

With a total of 28 branches spread today from coast to coast, including Canada, we have more than doubled our membership since the last National Conference two years ago. On the recent national tour larger audiences than before were attracted to our meetings. Including those held in New York City, a total of over 4,000 advanced workers participated in the meetings and heard our proposal for a new party. We can say today that the League has definitely become the standard bearer of the future revolutionary party. It reflects not only this new current but steps on the scene as the herald of the future upward curve in the working class movement as a whole. That is why the revolutionary youth responds so readily to the extent that the Spartacus Youth movement has grown up within the last year and a half from almost nothing to about a dozen live active branches. It is also the explanation of the particularly frantic onslaughts upon us by the Stalinist bureaucrats.

What a glaring contrast this presents. On the one hand the League surging forward, teeming with life and vitality, attracting to its banner the more conscious Marxian students; the League surging forward in accordance with the trends and direction of future struggles. On the other hand the Stalinist party, belonging to the past, bringing out from the arsenals of reactioin the methods of gangsterism which have long ago been properly branded as a curse to the American labor movement.

The Youth on the March.

In Chicago where the Stalinist party, infuriated by the progress we had made, came organized in large numbers to break up the meeting held on my tour, two new League branches have since emerged. That is a most fitting answer. To it can be added the fact, which augurs well for further progress, that in Chicago our youth movement is perhaps the most active of any place in the country. Two live Spartacus clubs already exist there. The Chicago Workers' School, directed by comrade Goldman has become an excellent supplementary institution reinforcing the Marxian foundation of the movement. With a total of over one hundred enrollments, the school is now expanding and forming branches in various parts of the city. The Friends of the Militant Club and an influential Italian workers' club complete the Chicago picture.

To the misguided workers who participated in the Stalinite blackjack expedition these developments should be telling proof of the falsity of such methods. They will only produce the kind of repercussions which return to annihilate their initiators. In the final analysis the issues of the movement, and the positive ideas which grow out of them, will always have to be considered squarely. Personally, I noticed that those who performed the hooligan role in this instance were not at all enthusiastic about it. On the other hand the League members and other workers who defended the meeting were in high spirits. They were defending the principles of democracy and free speech in the labor movement. This is something worth making a fight for. In this the League already today performs a service which will be of much greater importance in the future sharp conflicts to be fought with the capitalist agents in the ranks of organized labor.

Test of Political Position

Will the League play a serious part in the grandiose perspective for rising labor militancy speeded on by the structural changes of American national economy? That, after all, is the decisive question. For a young organization there naturally is no great tradition to point to. But there is such a thing as a test of political position in the crucible of events. In this respect we have found our position standing firm as a rock.

Therein lies the great hope for the future. Still we are today very small for the big job ahead. In recognition of this one of our comrades, a well driller from Oregon, wrote us the other day asking the very pertinent question: "In the awakening which is now beginning will not our forces be too small. There is so much to be done. Will we not be altogether too late?"

Today we stand before the coming storms. A few recent strikes, notably the Philadelphia transportation strike, indicate the resistance which is gathering against the pressure of degrading working class conditions. And we need not expect in advance that international union officials or the NRA labor boards will in every case succeed in smothering the fight. On the contrary, even the very conservative unions will be forced to take some steps forward. In preparation for that the League is also taking its first steps towards its announced objective of rebuilding the Left wing in the trade unions.

The Trend of the Future.

The accomplishments are modest so far. Not only that, but it must be said that in view of the imensity of the job ahead our own weakness in this field is all the more apparent. The steps which have been taken are reflected in **The Militant,** in union and strike activities of our comrades in New York, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. But, as an indication for the future, it is noteworthy that in two separate points in the Pittsburgh steel region members of the League have already taken the initiative and become the most active organizers of newly established local unions of the A. F. of L.

The Unemployment Movement

A further good indication for future trends is afforded by the examples of the Minneapolis comrades. They have been in the very forefront organizing the local unemployed movement and founidng it firmly on a trade union basis, thus establishing the unity between employed and unemployed, with the unions taking up the fight for the needs of the unemployed. There was a similar example in Toronto, Canada, although somewhat different in its nature. In that city our comrades were leading and moving forces in a united front Anti-Fascist demonstration which brought out between 15 to 20 thousand workers in a demonstration coupled with a strike of brief duration. It became a powerful thrust against the infamous Section 98 of the criminal code and restored free speech in Toronto.

In the unemployed movement the League is entering a broader field of activity. It is now collaborating directly with the Workers' Leagues of Chicago to extend this organization of the unemployed to other centers. Despite the general sag in the unemployment movement it has maintained several branches intact with more than a thousand members and a few additional hundred members outside of Chicago. The Communist League is cooperating in the work of this organization with a serious determination to help revive the unemployed movement.

New Forces in the West.

On the Pacific Coast our new branches in San Francisco, Oakland and Vancouver were almost entirely recruited from forces coming over from the official party. In New York City, where we have our largest membership, there are at this moment considerable new forces also taking the step from the official party to the Left Opposition. Within the official party itself there is a dead calm, all the more ominous after the Soviet recognition "bargain". Unquestionably many of its members feel very uneasy and there will be new forces turning away from Stalinism to become supporters of the new party. This was already indicated by the official party organizer in New Castle, Pa., when he atended our meeting of my recent tour. He said, "Yes, the Left Opposition rests upon a sound foundation and it has excellent forces while the official party in New Castle is dead."

—ARNE SWABECK.

Militant Builders

We want to address a few remarks to our builders. It is upon them that **The Militant** depends for extension into new and wider fields. It is to them also that the planned transformation of **The Militant** into an agitation paper will have great significance. It will facilitate their work.

We aim to popularize **The Militant,** to develop it into an authentic spokesman and guide of the American working class in their daily struggles. We mean to make it more plain spoken, more understandable to the workers in general and, above all, more directly concerned with the problems of the class struggle as they unfold in the United States at this time. In that sense it would be more "American". It will translate the language of Marxism into terms understandable to the American workers.

We can take steps in that direction now. We have already made a small beginning, but the complete transformation will come with the establishment of our theoretical magazine to which the heavier articles, now printed in the **Militant,** can be transferred. That is on the way. Meantime we must organize our forces to build our circulation.

The larger the circulation the greater the influence of the paper. The larger the **Militant** circulation is the greater will be the revenue, the sooner it will solve our financial problems, the sooner we will have the theoretical organ and the transformation of the character of **The Militant.**

What we need above all today is an active staff of Militant bulders throughout the country—live comrades who will take bundles of Militants under their arms, go out to sell them at working class gatherings or in working class neighborhoods and solicit subscriptions. We need more of them. We consider essential that these builders constantly renew their activities and continue without let-up. We have a number of actual builders already but we are now preparing plans for a much wider extension of the **Militant** circulation. In anticipation of this we ask all those comrades who are ready to enlist amongst the staff of active Militant builders to notify us by mail.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

"There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory"—said Lenin. A revolutionary theory cannot be spread effectively without the help of a publisihng house.

The problem now is to develop our work on a broader scale. An efficiently functioning publishing house is indispensable. Every conscious worker, every sympathizer of the revolutionary movement, every anti-Fascist has, therefore, to do his utmost in the building of such a revoultionary publishing center. Here is a practical way for you to help. Buy a $5 certificate in Pioneer Publishers. This will entitle the holder to get any book published by us at a 40% discount and books of other publishers at a 20% discount.

P. S. All comrades who have previously made full or partial payments for certificates should send in their names. Properly signed and sealed certificates will be sent to those who have paid $5 or more.

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MANIFESTO OF THE SPANISH BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS

Madrid, Dec. 5, 1933.—The calling of the recent elections for deputies to the Cortez (Spanish parliament—Ed.) coincided with the period of the reorganization of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists in the light of the decisions adopted on an international scale concerning the new orientation towards new parties and the new International of the working class. In line with the radical change which has taken place in our international organization, we decided to participate in the elections in complete independence and under our own banner. The following are the most important decisions adopted.

1. Being unable in any way to justify abstention from elections so important as those which have just taken place, we decided to support the candidates of the official Communist party, despite the deep-going differences which separate us from them, in such places where it was impossible for us to present candidates of our own. Naturally, while recommending to the workers the support of the candidates of the official C. P. we did not forget to raise all the differences which we have with this party. On the contrary, the election campaign has been an occasion for us in which to make the Spanish proletariat understand the urgent necessity of organizing a real Communist party, inspired by the doctrines of revolutionary Marxism, and in the traditions of Bolshevism-Leninism.

2. In accord with the line of struggle followed in the elections of November 19th, we recommended voting for the workers candidate having the greatest opportunity of election, on the second run. It was opposed to the tactic of the Stalinist party, which maintained its own candidates on the second run, even where the Socialist candidate had the greatest chance for election. Even in this case, while recommending to the workers to vote, on the second run, for the socialist candidates, our criticism of the policy of this party did not cease to be the sharpest.

We are in the process of gathering the details of our participation in the election struggle. But now it is well known that reaction emerges from this struggle strengthened by the victory of the Right wing. For that reason we see the great urgency in making known the position our organization adopted toward the present reactionary threat. This position is summarized in the following leaflet distributed in tens of thousands of copies throughout Spain.

TO THE WORKERS

Reaction has taken a great step forward.

A mortal danger faces the proletariat.

But the situation is not hopeless.

The treasure of energy and combativity of the working class is not exhausted. But this energy and this combativity must be organized and directed. There is only one road for that: the formation of a solid bloc of all workers organizations to oppose an impassable front to reaction. The immediate aim of this bloc should be:

1. Not to tolerate the least attempt against the conquests of the working class.
2. The defense of the workers organizations.
3. To make the assembly of the elected cortez impossible by means of formidable movement.

WORKERS

This is a decisive hour. Demand the immediate constitution of the united front.

There is no time to be lost. Each lost minute is an hour gained by reaction.

To make the assembly of the elected Cortez impossible by means of formidable popular movement is the immediate rallying slogan of the Spanish section of the League of Communist Internationalists (formerly the International Left Opposition—Ed.), issued in order to block the road to the return of reaction. The new Cortez must be dismissed through the pressure and the anger of the popular masses grouped in organizations for anti-Fascist struggle. In this struggle our organization will take its place in the front ranks and point out the roads to be followed to save and broaden the democratic conquests of the toiling masses.

BOOK REVIEW

The Marxian Theory of the State, by Sherman H. M. Chang, Ph. D.

This book is advertised as "the first scholarly book on the Marxist theory of the state". Dr. Chang came to write it by chance. Beginning merely out of curiosity with a chapter on Marxian theory, he discovered that **no one** had written fully on the political theory of Communism, and therefore decided to make a deep study of "this formidable theory of the state". He devoted two years to this deep study, and accomplished precisely what could be expected from a curiosity that is bolstered up with such concentrated effort. In that time, he managed to become acquainted with a half dozen pamphlets by Lenin, a few extracts by Trotsky, and absolutely nothing of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and Mehring, not to mention such "non-entities" as Plekhanov or Kautsky of the pre-revisionist period.

Chang's "Slant" on Marxism

In view of the fact that this book bristles with classic quotations of Marxism, and also because such outstanding theorists as Bedacht and Trachtenberg seem to have been somewhat involved in providing Dr. Chang with a genuine "slant" on Marxism, we intended to go somewhat into the scope of this purported interpretation of Marxist theory, and Chang's qualifications as a scientist and scholar in general.

In this "Marxian" study of the state, there is practically no mention whatever made (to say nothing of analysis) of the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the October Revolution. One is led to the suspicion that Chang's reason for studying the Paris Commune, is the fact that it has had some mention among "his authorities."

Chang's scholarship is upon that level which does not transcend scholasticism. The bulk of his bibliography consists of the works of such authorities on Marxism as Max Beer, M. M. Bober, one Kleene, and the like. To prove that historical materialism is monistic, he refers—to the "findings of Kleene and Bober (which serve to strengthen our contention that historical materialism is monistic". Although he refers slightingly to Plekhanov as another "great Marxist", Chang obviously never read Plekhanov's classic defense of historical materialism. It is only when his own authorities fail him that he resorts to such dubious sources as Trotsky—for example, "since even such an authority.... as Max Beer overlooks this character of the Commune, it is worth while to quote Trotsky."

A Surprising "Discovery"

It is not surprising therefore to find that the Doctor is surprised at the deliberate falsification of Marxism by the revisionists. And, moreover, that from the heights of his erudition, he suspects that even most devoted disciples of Marx were not quite so well informed as he. Chang indirectly imputes to Lenin ignorance of Marx's "The Class Struggles in France." On what grounds? On the grounds that he did not include two well known quotations from that book in his pamphlet "The State and Revolution". According to Chang, "it is interesting to note that such a devoted disciples of Marx had made no mention (of these passages) in his State and Revolution". Had the doctor devoted a few more weeks to Lenin he might have discovered that a number of people had written rather fully on the political theory, and that Lenin had far closer first hand knowledge about the quotations than Chang! He might have also learned that the "State and Revolution" was never completed, as planned.

But his two years research authorizes Chang not only to note with interest but also to comment in passing upon the relative merits of Marxists. No work of Mehring's is referred to in Chang's book, but he did read a book of Ryazanov, and this leads our doctor to the scientific conclusion that Ryazanov ranks higher than Mehring. "It should be noticed in passing that Ryazanov as a **historian** of Marxist literature (sic!) ranks higher even than Frans Mehring." We need only remark that Ryazanov ranked Mehring as the greatest historian of Marxism.

Literature and History

Chang not only has hazy notions as to what Marxist literature consists of, but he confounds literature with history, and is blissfully unaware that there is a distinction between dialectic materialism (the philosophy of Marxism) and historical materialism (Marxist sociology). He thinks that "historical materialism is also known as dialectic materialism." In Pennsylvania this passes for scholarship. But these are only the artificial pearls of his erudition, the genuine jewels are still ahead.

The learned Doctor has a preface and an introduction to his book. In the preface he informs us that in his book there is "little mention or use of Marxian economics". But in the introduction he informs us that "it is presumptuous to draw a rigid line between economics and political science." He is convinced of this, on the authority of professor J. H. Laski. On his own words, and upon his own authority, Chang pleads guilty of having been so presumptious as to draw a rigid line between Marxian economics and Marxian politics.

His lack of knowledge of Marxian economics does not, however, hinder him from speaking authoritatively about it. According to him "one of the productive forces is wage-labor." He confounds productive forces with productive relations. Wage-labor is a productive relation. It is a bourgeois relation of production.

The Marxian concept of "class" is a closed book to Chang, but this does not prevent him from being very erudite in his chapter, "The Class Domination Theory of the State." According to Chang the intellectuals are a class in society. It is perhaps safe to say that even Bedacht knows better.

When the classic quotations of Marxism run counter to Chang's own conclusion, he amputates them, in order to make them conform. Thus Chang is convinced that a necessary feature of Communist society is the disappearance of the **division of labor.** He reaches this conclusion by misinterpreting Marx's statement to the effect that in a Communist society the subjection of labor dependent upon the present division of labor will disappear, and that there will be no opposition between brain and manual work. To Chang this means that the division of labor itself will disappear. (Marx's own words are "when the **slavish subordination of the individual to the yoke** of the division of labor has disappeared, and when concomitantly the distinction between mental and physical work has ceased to exist ...."). Chang then bolsters his misinterpretation, by reporting that Engels agreed with him. Engels (acording to Chang) held the view that the division of labor "lies at the basis of the division into classes". (The point being that since classes will disappear so will the division of labor!). Here is what Engels actually wrote, "It is, therefore, **the law** of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes." Of course, the enslaving subordination of the individual under the division of labor as it exists in class society is one thing, and the division of labor itself is something else again. Among the outstanding characteristics of Communist society is that it frees the individual from subjection under **particular** types of the division of labor; but the Communist society itself has no intentions of doing away with division of labor. It is based upon **international** division of labor. And of course the law of the division of labor is one thing, and the division of labor is another. But Chang is law unto himself, and having confounded so many things, and understood so little, he confounds Marxism with himself.

A Typhical Ph. D. Thesis

What has been said is sufficient evidence that Chang's thesis is a typical Ph. D. performance on the American standard, pretentious, presumptious, and second-hand. From the Marxist viewpoint it is worthless. We caution those who, seeking the easy way ,would use this book as a source book of quotations. For one thing, Chang quotes Lenin through Stalin. But then what else could be expected, from one indebted to Bedacht, except to cite Stalin as "one who follows Lenin's theory of the proletarian dictatorship very closely"? Is it astonishing that Chang therefore lists as **minor extensions** of Marxism, Lenin's "theory of colonial revolutions and the theory of the unequal development of capitalism". And that he also includes among Lenin's contributions to Marxism "the theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country." For a summary of all these minor extensions, he refers the readers not to Lenin but to—Stalin. But the good doctor is not being funny, he is serious!

In all respects, his performance qualifies Chang not only for a doctorate but for a professorship in the present Marx-Lenin Institute, under the leadership of Stalin.

—JOHN G. WRIGHT.

Leon Trotsky

HITLER THE PACIFIST

Hitler wants peace. His speeches and his interviews on this theme are constructed on an ancient formula: war is incapable of solving a single question, war threatens the extermination of the superior races, war brings the ruin of civilization in its wake. The classic argumentation of the pacifists for hundreds of years! No more consoling is the fact that the Chancellor of the Reich has already succeeded in convincing several foreign journalists of his absolute sincerity. It is true that another pacifist whose sincerity is not open to the least suspicion, Karl Ossietzki, can ask why he continues to remain in a concentration camp, if the leader of the present government applies his fundamental theme assiduously, if not with very much talent. But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he is able to pose embarrassing questions.

The Arguments of Hitler

The arguments of Hitler are convincing in the degree that they have volume. All the ministers, all the orators, all the journalists swear that the Third Reich has been called into being to realize the fraternity of people. If all of National Socialist Germany is learning to handle arms, it is only in order the better to become impregnated with hatred for them. Even von Papen who, as early as May 13th, still preached that the true Germany ought to die young on the field of battle and not from hardening of the arteries, does not cease to repeat now, that there is nothing more worthy than to give up the ghost peacefully surrounded by one's grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

The peoples of Europe passionately want the preservation of peace. No wonder that they lend an ear full of hope, to the bulky argumentation from Berlin. It is not very difficult to dispel their doubts. Many are asking: and what is to be thought, for instance, of Hitler's autobiography which is entirely built up on the irreconcilibity of the interests of France and Germany? An apeasing explanation has already been given: the autobiography was written in prison, when the author's nerves were disordered and it is only through an obvious negligence of the minister of propaganda that this disturbing book continues to this day to serve as the basis for national education.

"Peace" Instead of "Struggle".

Once the qeustion of "equality of rights" is determined in favor of the Third Reich, Hitler will prepare the publication of a new edition, more reassuring. If the book has been called up to now, "My Struggle", the principal object of "My Struggle" being the Versailles Treaty, in the future it is very probable that it will be called "My Peace" and that they will append to it a report of the National Socialist physicians attesting that the nerves of the author are in better order. And the Leipzig trial shows that the medico-legal surveys of the Nazis exist in the world, life will probably be made an eternal delight. But unfortunately side by side with these virtues stupidity and credulity still live on. Who will have to pay for them?

The author of these lines has already at one time attempted to draw the reader's attention to a remarkable document, the "Open Letter" from Hitler to the then Chancellor of the Reich, von Papen. Unfortunately our weak voice obviously has not reached its destination. The "Open Letter" has not become, as we had hoped, the brief of all editors and all diplomatic chancelleries. And it is well deserving of that. The recently published political document of German propaganda are also incontestably very instructive But they have the drawback of being secrets. One can always suspect a falsification.

Hitler's "Open Letter".

The "Open Letter" is not a secret document. This pamphlet was officially published by the Nazi party on October 16, 1932, three months before Hitler's seizure of power. His nervous system at all time had succeeded, we must believe, in completely recovering from the tests of 1923, Hitler already felt himself almost in the government. There remained only the hurdling of the last obstacles. The ruling classes looked towards him hopefully, but not without fear. They were particularly apprehensive of any adventure in "romantic" chauvinism. The aim of the "Open Letter" was to assure the possessing classes, the bureaucracy, the generals, the immediate retinue of Hindenburg that he, Hitler, contrary to the light avenger, Von Papen, would pursue his ends with the greatest caution. The "Open Letter" discloses a complete system of foreign policy, which only now assumes its full importance. The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations was received throughout the entire world as an unexpected and unreasonable improvization. However, it is stated with absolute precision in the "Open Letter" why Germany would leave Geneva and how it would be necessary to arrange this break.

Nazi Foreign Policy.

The exceptional value of this letter consists in that Hitler, still inclined in those days to battle and polemic, rashly unveiled the secret springs of his future foreign policy. The point of departure of the "Letter" is the same as that of the autobiography: the interests of France and Germany are absolutely irreconcilable; from its whole inclination France can come to an agreement only on the basis of a change of relationship of forces in favor of Germany; Germany cannot hope to obtain "equality of rights" by means of discussion in international conferences; in order that international diplomacy recognize Germany's right to rearm, the Germans must rearm at once. But that is precisely why it is impossible to demand aloud the rearmament of Germany as von Papen does. It is the slogan of a "popular movement" but in no case of diplomacy. A government conscious of its responsibilities,—that is the government of Hitler and not of von Papen,—should demand only the disarmament of France. And since France is no case could agree to that, Germany should leave the League of Nations in order thus to free its hands. So as to make war? No. Germany is still too weak for its government to speak in the near future in any other language than that of pacifism.

Recreating German Militarism

Invoking the "danger" which threatens it in the East, and utilizing the antagonisms among the states of the West, Germany should recreate the basis of its militarism, gradually, by proceeding from the general to the particular, to the special. In order to conduct this work to a successful end, there must be a national conspiracy of silenec; above all the Ossietzkis must be kept under lock and key! A government conscious of its responsibilities must take the instruments of pacifism in its own hands. By following this path they will succeed, in the course of several years, in preparing a radical change in the relation of forces. After that they will be able to pass anew from "My Peace" to "My Struggle" and even to "My War".

Such is Hitler's plan. The plan flows from the whole situation, external and internal. Hitler himself has taken care to give humanity a key,—or, to use a beter known expression, a passport,—in order to penetrate the secrets of his future international policy. Despite all the respect we have for the two sympathetic journalists, we prefer to base ourselves on the declarations of Hitler himself, supported by an imposing system of direct and indirect proofs.

From a fact, even a strongly established one, different practical conclusions can be drawn. Various answers can be given to the policy of Hitler. It is not at all the intention of the present article to give counsel to those, whoever they may be, who decide the fate of Europe: they truly know themselves what they have to do. But the premises of a realistic policy, whatever its aims and methods. is an understanding of the situation and the forces at work in it.

Hitler's Calculated Plan.

We must see what is. Hitler has left the League of Nations not under the blow of a nervous improvisation, but in conformance with a coldly calculated plan. Hitler has himself assured the "national" conspiracy of silence. He carries on his work in the direction of a radical change in the relationship of military forces. It is precisely now, when this work has already begun but is still far from having given decisive results, that Hitler must employ the greatest caution in the European arena. Do not frighten anyone, do not irritate anyone; on the contrary, open wide the arms. Hitler is ready to cover the walls of the war factories with pacifist speeches and non-aggression pacts. Paris would rather have a knife. If a clear, simple, non-diplomatic formula of the pacifist offensive is necessary, it is the following: for the next two or three years Hitler must painfully avoid a preventive war on the part of his opponents. Within these limits his pacifism is absolutely sincere. But within these limits only.

—L. TROTSKY.

November 23, 1933.

Wicks at Large Again

After a long period of silence, H. M. Wicks, is heard from again. Wicks is now touring the country with a Marx-Lenin exhibit which he supplements with a lecture. But this angle of the affair is only an external covering. The essential purpose of the tour is to incite a progrom spirit against the Left Opposition and, like all revisionists of Marxism, to do it under the mantle of Marx and Lenin. And who could do that better than H. M. Wicks?

The speech is divided into a discussion of the three Internationals. Wicks is a calm and deliberate man when he speaks of the first and second internationals. But when his speech covers the ground of the Third International he is a changed man. The calm and deliberate Wicks becomes a blustering ignoramus whose speech is filled with invectives against Trotsky and the Left Opposition. "Counter-revolutionaries" and "renegades" are nicknames that pale alongside the new language, the sum and substance of which, is the instruction to carry on a campaign of gangsterism against the Left Opposition.

True, this policy is not a new one. The Stalinist International and all its sections have carried on a policy of violence against opponent workers organization for a number of years, increasing or decreasing in intensity in equal degree with the credit or discredit of the Parties. In the United States the Central Committee directed this policy of gangsterism. Because of pressure, this policy was put aside for a short period. The C. C. denied that it was responsible for this policy, but it refused to instruct the ranks of the Party to cease employing Fascist tactics in the labor movement.

Revival of Gangster Methods

Now the Parties of Stalin are again making use of the tactic of gangsterism. The heavy defeat in Germany, the weakened position of the Soviet Union at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the decline of the International—these are all motive forces behind this policy. In recent months there has been revived the tactic of physical attacks on the Left Oppositionists. These attacks are prefaced by theoretical speeches of justification! This Wicks tours the country with a Marx-Lenin exhibit in order to make lynch speeches against the "Trotskyites". He fumes and frets, bellows and howls, with a language characteristic of Wicks.

But why Wicks? Why should he be resurrected for this campaign? Why shouldn't Hathaway or Browder make this tour and do this dirty job? They are the leaders of the Party. They stand out as the face of the Party. And therein probably lies the answer. It would not be fitting, or shall we say, very political, to have the National Secretary of the Party or the editor of the **Daily Worker** make such a tour; although we assure our readers, there would be little to choose between them. But then, why Wicks? And thereby hangs a tale.

The Record of Wicks

When the Opposition was first organized in this country, H. M. Wicks, it was, who write a series of vicious articles against it, comparing the sterling revolutionary character of the Stalinists with the counter-revolutionary make-up of the Left Opposition. Those who know Wicks, and there were a few, could not take him seriously, because to them, the record of Wicks was an open book. But to many, Wicks stood out as the emblem of all that is good, and honest. We thought it in the best interest of the working class to tell who this Wicks is.

In the early days of the foundation of the Communist movement, Wicks played an active part. For a time he disappeared from the scene. Then he returned once more to take an active part in the Party. What happened in the meantime? Wicks turned apostate! He who shouts renegade so loudly played the role of a renegade. We quote from the Gary, Indiana, **Post** (Now **Post-Tribune**), the issue of March 25, 1920, pages 1 and 9:

"H. M. Wicks, of Chicago, a reformed Socialist, spoke on the revolutionary tendencies of the times to some forty Gary men last evening ....Bill Haywood and his satellites should not be tolerated in this country, Mr. Wicks said, he had been advising American Legion members not to permit these vermin to talk to them, but to knock them down. That he said is the only language they understand....He commended the deportation proceedings that have rid the country of many agitators and urged that other foreign troublemakers be given the same treatment. He urged an Americanization program for the foreign speaking workers and he said the American Legion is the one organization in the country which is doing good Americanization work.... He told of attending the congress of the Communist Party in Chicago. By use of a caucus about one-fourth of the delegates controlled the m eeting.. Lenin is a dictator.... The speaker could not find words to describe his disgust for the I. W. W. He charged them with being cowards and the scum of the earth....Wicks is preparing to tour the country on the Chautaugua platform this summer in order to let the American people understood the true situation."

Once Excluded from Party.

Wicks applied for membership in the Communist Party in 1921, after his excursion into the ranks of true renegades and provocateurs. The "Official Bulletin of the Communist Party of America (Section of the Communist International)" issued by the General Executive Committee, No. 2, page 1, under the heading "Some Important C. E. C. Decisions", declared:

"The recommendation of an investigating committee that Harry Wicks shall not be admitted to the Party was approved. The information proves him to be absolutely undesirable within the Party ranks."

Some years later the matter was brought up in the Party but was squelched by Lovestone and Pepper then in control of the C. E. C. They have since admitted their error! Isn't it understandable now why a Wicks was chosen for such a delectable work? When he spoke for the reactionaries in Gary he boasted and gloated because he advised the American Legion not to permit the vermin (Haywood and his comrades) to talk to them but to knock them down. He doesn't have to change his act now, because experience has made him fitted for this filthy work. There is no one better suited to calumniate the "Trotskyites" than one who has been a renegade, such as Wicks has been. That is why he was chosen for this task. At any rate we feel it incumbent to warn the workers everywhere that H. M. Wicks, erstwhile renegade and unofficial advisor to the American Legion, is at large again.

MOVIE REVIEW

As movies go Noel Coward's **Cavalcade** is an old picture. Fox turned it out almost a year ago. The thing got so much publicity, and was talked about by so many people we got curious about it. And we figured that workers felt the same way about it. So we want to see it.

This is what we found: a story which begins in the Victorian era in England and takes us through to 1933. In a way it is a love story. But it is a much more ambitious production than a mere tale of heart beats. The producers think, no doubt, that they have made a faithful chronicle of an epoch that has passed into history and truthfully recorded the life of a generation.

Let us take them on their own terms. What do they tell us about these years and the people who move across the screen? The central figures' man and wife, who are happily married ten years at the opening of the picture, obviously belong to the upper class. They live in a big house, have servants, and move in elite circles. The source of their income is not even indicated. A sordid detail in a story of love that endures through the ages!

The war against the Boers separates them for a time. In the elaborate scenes of the fervor that overtakes every patriotic British citizen the producers who are, no doubt, opposed to propaganda in the movies have an opportunity to tell us the truth about the brutal course that empire treads. Do they? Not a bit. The war is only an incident in the love life of four people.

Do men die in the brush? Are Boers murdered to establish Britania's might? These are unimportant details, are not mentioned in polite society. But our hero comes back at the head of his troop, safe and sound, very much in love with his wife, and is knighted.

The queen dies and everybody dresses in black. This signalizes the close of the Victorian era. The world moves on. The butler and his wife, the maid, leave to open a pub. The children grow up. The butler turns out to be a drunkard who dies in a street accident.

The elder son goes down with his bride on the Titanic on their honeymoon. The World War comes. Father and son do their duty. The latter falls in love with the daughter of the dead butler. She is now a famous musical comedy dancer.

The girl's mother goes round to see the boy's mother about the affair. Servant confronts mistress. The mistress is still the same courteous, kindly, sweet woman she has always been toward her servants. But the former maid; she dresses ridiculously and put on airs. Her pretensions of equality are so much vulgarity. Oh, the lower orders! Unworthy wretches, drunkards, ungrateful, offensive. They don't know that quality is inborn.

It is armistice day. The painful interview between mistress and former servant is terminated by a telegram announcing the death of the boy. The girl becomes a night club blues singer. Her mother disappears from the chronicle.

Come crises, revolutions. The world moves at a faster tempo. It is restless, nervous—the twentieth century is full blast But the old house—it is still the same. Nothing changes here; not custom, not the very furniture (only the curtains are changed one week before the close), and certainly not the people in it. At the end as in the beginning they have each other; they are still in love; that counts more than all else in the world.

Is there a moral to this story? You bet. Old virtues are the best. Just how to the line of bourgeois morality and the world will muddle through somehow. It is not your business to remake the world. Just look at the butler; he was not satisfied with his station in life and kindly treatment. He tried to remake his world and he came to an untimely end. Do your duty; be content with your lot; love your wife! It is written—by Noef Coward and Fox.

—T. S.

PHILADELPHIA
LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG MEMORIAL MEETING
Sunday, January 7th, 1934, 8 P. M.
SAULLS HALL, 802 W. Girard Av.

NEW YORK DEBATE
Sunday, January 7th — 3 P. M.
Subject:
"RESOLVED THAT A POLITICAL PARTY IS NECESSARY FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS"
Affirmative: HUGO OEHLER of Communist League
Negative: S. WEINER of the I. W. W.
Sunday, January 7th, 3 P. M.
at Marine Workers' I. W. W. Hall

LOS ANGELES ATTENTION
THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)
Holds
OPEN FORUM
Every Thursday 8 P. M. at
224 S. Spring St.,
ROOM 218

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"The New Deal"

A NEW STAGE IN THE NRA

Government proclamations dealing with economic measures are issued so often it is difficult to keep up with them. This in itself reveals the mounting difficulties which confront the dominating imperialist power in the decay stage of capitalism. The resort to governmental economic measures in an attempt to "bring back prosperity" is a game that has no end simply because capitalism has contradictions which the most powerful of governments cannot solve or eliminate. In this circumstance the task of the capitalist government is to adopt such measures as will place the ruling class, in the preliminary struggles and preparations for a re-division of the earth, in the most favorable position against the other imperialist powers and the working class at home.

Such is the purpose of the NRA and all of the other measures taken by the government since it was compelled by the situation to work more in the open. As soon as one government measure is used up and faces breakdown new decrees are issued. At one stage the slack is taken up at a critical moment by the Civil Works Program—a form of government relief which is half charity and half stagger plan. At another time the cracks are plastered over with an expanding monetary policy in a series of steps which range from going off the gold standard and placing unlimited power in the president's hands to the gold-buying policy and now to the silver policy of the government. At other times critical stages are maneuvered through by the recognition of the U. S. S. R., the Hull Tariff proposal, or the establishment of the Federal Surplus Relief Association, etc.

President Roosevelt has extended the blanket code four more months, to May the First. This was necessitated by the fact that the process of reorganization, at the expense of the workers and the middle class, has not gone fast enough. There are only two variants possible—or modified forms of these two variants—that the ruling class can take in relation to the NRA and its international supplementary measures. They must either return to the past and give up the "governmental experiment in business", or proceed further on the present path. It can be answered with certainty that there is only one road ahead for American imperialism. That is the road of increased governmental control and regulation of American economy. A rich variety of forms leading toward state capitalism is possible, providing the proletariat does not interpose its own solution and made short work of the whole mess.

The government measures designed to insure a more favorable position for American imperialism on the international field dovetail into those measures which aim to reorganize production within the country. None of the government measures is exclusively internal or international. However, the NRA is primarily an internal object; the majority of the other measures supplement the NAA internally and extend the economic war out into the international arena.

The government monetary policy in its successive stages is not merely a series of internal measures to boost prices, as the administration would have us believe. In the final analysis it has greater international importance. One may safely say that the central contradiction concealed within the monetary policy is the struggle between the Pound and the Dollar for world supremacy. But England and the United States are not the only two countries striving for a bigger place in the sun. Other imperialists are putting up a desperate fight for the same goal. These struggles inevitably cross this struggle between the Pound and the Dollar, and often monetarily stand out more prominently. An example of this is to be seen in the ratification of the international agreement for the remonetization and stabilization of silver and the president's proclamation on this question.

A new government organization of far-reaching powers, recently established is the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation. The New York **Times** says it may exercise "any and all powers" that may legally be delegated to it under the NRA, the AAA and the Emergency Relief Act. It may "purchase, store, handle and process" surplus commodities of any kind. It may attempt to "adjust the severe disparity between prices of agriculture and other commodities." Subject to Federal and State laws it may "purchase, hold, own, mortgage, sell, convey, or otherwise dispose of real and personal property of any sort, and in general, carry on any and all business necessary for the relief of the existing national emergency."

This will act as a sort of a second line trench behind the NRA. It brings out into bold relief the great difference between the present reorganization for capitalist reproduction and that which followed past crises when capitalism as a world system was "healthy" and developing. It exposes the spots of decay even in U. S. economy, the dominating section of world economy. Capitalism has now reached a stage where the process of decay is "organized". There is such a thing as "organized capitalism", but in a sense completely opposite to that conveyed by the capitalist theorists. Decay on a world-wide scale proceeds on an "organized" plan; only in this way can the capitalists retain power.

In Germany, the main defeated nation in the last world war, this "organized decay" took on its most violent form—Fascism. America, the main victor of the war and the strongest power now, has been able, up to the present time, to escape both the revolutionary destroyers and the Fascist saviors of cavitalism. Nevertheless, it does not escape the need of reorganization by the curtailment and destruction of productive forces that must not be replaced. In previous crises during the growth stage of capitalism the process of reorganization always proceeded by the destruction of certain productive forces and commodities; but the new cycle started out with a more highly develoved technique of production than that which obtained before the crises. This destruction of productive forces and commodities is not the new feature of the present stage. The important new fact is that the process of destruction is proceeding in an attempted "organized fashion" by means of government subsidy where political exigency requires it, and without a reorganization on a superior technical level. In the decay stage of capitalism, within which American economy is included, iron shackles are fastened on the productive forces.

This does not mean that the cycle of reproduction and the creation of surulus value cannot again proceed. The NRA and the other measures are working toward this end. However, the rate of surplus value will diminish progressively unless war and revolution alter the whole situation.

The NRA already has greatly assisted the process of reorganization and centralization of industry and government. But by no means has it solved the problem. A new problem confronting the present rulers is the army of permament unemployed and the prospective Europeanization of the American workers, that is, their political awakening. Against this new and added danger from the working class the executive committee of the capitalist class has created the NRA. They forsee this danger and aim, by means of the NRA, to shackle the rising class in advance. The NRA has a far reaching economic effect but its effects on social and class relations will be even greater.

The middle class has not been roused to action yet. The stage is only being set through the NRA to squeeze them on a far larger scale. No one can predict which way this class will move. Already the farmers have shown open hostility to the NRA. This has forced concessions and has only postponed struggled on a wider scale. A section of the capitalists which had enjoyed monopolistic positions in certain industries have been opposing the NRA. They already enjoy a special position within their field. The government measures are of no value to them unless they are on the inside track. That group of capitalists which has the inside track is carrying on a struggle for domination within America against other groups of contending capitalists and is usingg the NRA for this purpose. Many of the higher-ups in the "sound money bloc" and "gold-bloc" happen to be with that group of capitalists which is under attack.

The working class is being disillusioned. New measures will be attempted to keep the discontent from crystallizing into definite channels of class struggle against the NRA and all that goes with it. The reduction of the living standards of the whole class is proceeding as rapidly as the NRA becomes a "success". The political awakening of the workers will be greatly advanced in the general process now taking place.

—HUGO OEHLER.

From Nazi Germany

Hamburg.—I spent my time in Hamburg not only with many social democratic workers but with leading comrades as well (local, district leaders, old trade union secretaries). All these men feel that they were betrayed by their leaders and they do not dream of continuing to work together with the old leaders of the social democracy. The Prague **Vorwaerts** was distributed here up to three weeks ago.

Following the arrest of a courier, they are examining the boats in the harbor with extreme scrutiny. Most workers utilize the **Vorwaerts** only as a source of information, other distribute it despite its content, only so as to do something against Hitler. Others burn it because they do not want to run any risks, but many burn it because they consider its contents despicable.

The political line of these people is very vague although they have begun to discuss with the Communists and the small groups. Discussion circles were created in this way. A Reichsbanner group is particularly noteworthy. This group was well equipped technically, but its positions were very bad ideologically. They worked on the principle of authority and omnipotence of the leader. They showered the S. A. P. with insults considering the latter as undisciplined because they wanted to break the discipline of the ranks of the organization at that time.

Their position towards nationalsocialism was very poor. They explained that they had to attach themselves to the nationalism of the people Most of the Germans are nationalistic and they cannot be won over by internationalism. Only after the conquest of power can the question of internationalism be posed. Nationalism was only a tactic for them, they said. But I think that there was much sentiment hidden behind this stand.

The Communists with whom I come into contact in Hamburg had suffered severe losses throughout. They seldom admitted that they were almost completely annihilated by agent provoacteurs. The repression becomes stronger from month to month and men are arrested en bloc, 40 to 50 at a time. They are very dogmatic in their stand and they invariably abide by the old party line. They still have good organizations and they publish printed papers. I receive the **Rote Fahne**, the **Junge Garde** and the **Trommel** (children's paper) in Hamburg.

BERLIN.

Berlin.—Wels is still in the leadership of the S. P. D. Four social democratic papers are in existence. **Vorwaerts** has not been circulated here for some time. The workers refuse to take it. The **Proletarische Pressedienst** (Proletarian Press Service) is much better and even very much liked among Communists. It has a circulation of 2'000 copies. Each copy has 5 readers. The same circle publishes **Initiative**. The latter is only an information organ for leading functionaries. **Roter Stosstrup** has the same function in Hamburg. They are against all discussion and they are connected with the Reichsbanner who have been taken into the illegal leadership. Their ideas on dictatorship and the principle of authority are very bad.

The Young Socialists who have struggled with K. for a long time are truly revolutionary and are brilliantly active. The Young Socialists keep in connection with the **Proletarische Pressedienst** on the one hand and work with the Left Opposition on the other.

In 5 weeks 5 printing presses were seized from the Communists. The **Rote Fahne**, despite all, continues to be published but only in mimeographed form. The content remains the same. I had an opportunity to speak with a leader of the Brandenburg district. He and others were very sceptical and are now working in discussion circles with the Left Opposition. They feel the pressure from the Communist workers for the united front.

The Left Opposition works marvelously. Relations with Communists and even leading functionaries are established daily. We have equally good relations with the Young Socialists who are now considered "Trotskyites". These comrades reject the strangling discipline of the C. P. G. They have made this crystal clear to K——and St——. The Left Opposition can today not only double but triple its membership. But it should be very careful of detectives and admit only vanguard elements.

Due to the catastrophe not only large sections of the social democracy, but also a section of the Communists have finally understood that Trotsky's analysis of Fascism was correct. Everywhere the question is asked: "What does Trotsky say?" Many voluntarily enter into relations with us. It confirms to me the new relations between the social democrats, communists and Left Oppositionists. It can be seen everywhere that the active comrades are very oung. The average age is from 20 to 25 years.

Exploitation and wage cutting have been intensified. I know of a place where they pay 50 prennings an hour. The cuts extend from 20 to 25%. The cost of living has risen, which means greater exploitation. Most of the workers earn between 25 and 50 marks, i. e. hardly more than the relief rates. Those receiving aid are forced to work three days for it. They receive 75 pfenning a day. Due to this arrangement another worker is unmeployed for the three days.

The forced labor camps grow incessantly. Thousands of workers who refuse to go to the forced labor camps have been cut off the relief lists. The general purchasing ability is lowered from day to day. Statistics for beer show that 51% less of this beverage is consumed now than before the war.

Naturally there are many more unemployed than previously. The manner in which the Nazis deceive the people is shown in the case of a young comrade in the Left Opposition at H——. The comrade was sent from the employment office to K——. They said there was no more unemployment in K——. The workers of K—— protested because there were obviously more unemployed there than in all Germany. After 15 days they all returned to H——.

As I see it there now exists very good opportunities to for a rise of the workers movement if the responsible comrades of the Left Opposition can conduct extensive activity in Germany. But lack of money paralyzes the forces. The comrades simply have no money with which to send the most urgent letters.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

EDITORIAL

Strike the Hotels

ONE of the bright spots in the rising labor movement is the sensational rise of the Amalgamated Food Workers and its militant challenge to the big New York hotels which have been completely unorganized and immune to "labor troubles" for many years. Within the space of a few months' time, thanks to the strong sentiment for organization in the ranks of the fiercely exploited workers and a competent leadership in the union, the Amalgamated has bounded forward to a commanding position in the situation and is the indicated medium for the organization of a general strike to smash the infamous NRA code and enforce the workers' demands.

The action of the union in putting the preparation of the general strike now definitely on the agenda, after the arduous preliminary work in spreading the message of unionism and gathering the forces of the workers together, raises the prospect of a battle that can mean much for the labor movement in general as well as for the workers directly involved. Shut off from unionism for so many years, the biggest industry in New York—for that is what the hotel and restaurant business is—remained a stronghold of super-exploitation which helped to depress the standards and undermine the organizations of all the other workers.

In invading this field and establishing the firm basis of a union there the Amalgamated Food Workers has rendered a signed service to the whole movement of organized labor. In the projected strike it will be entitled to the solidarity and support, which are needed to ensure success.

* * * *

To wrest concessions from the big New York hotels is no small undertaking. It cannot be accomplished without a real battle, and the battle cannot get a good start without serious preparation and a fair basis of organization beforehand. In proceeding from this point of view, and in moving step by step along a consistent line—gathering forces, building up the union, popularizing the idea of general strike action instead of reliance on the NRA—the Amalgamated has already stamped itself in the minds of thousands of discontented hotel slaves as an organization that means business, not bluff and ballyhoo. The steady stream of new recruits into the union bears testimony to this. These demonstrations of confidence in the union presage a widespread response to the strike call when it goes out.

The challenge to the NRA code and the hotel magnates in whose interest it was drawn up leads with iron necessity to a strike. There is no other way but by a show of strength to convince these people who refuse to hear or heed the bitter grievances of the workers. The demands gained and the organization established in this way will be all the more secure. There will be no ground for the illusion that anybody gave the workers anything. It will be clear that everything gained is the result of organized struggle and it will not be easy to take the gains away again.

* * * *

The general strike of the New York hotels will be an undisguised fight between capital and labor under modern conditions. The New York hotels are not one-horse concerns—they represent a huge concentration of capital closely tied up with the banks, and in some cases directly controlled by them. This policy is anti-union from start to finish. The Amalgamated union, on the other hand, is a modern type of labor organization, industrial in form to include all workers in the industry, militant in policy and relying on its own strength.

The A. F. of L. unions in the industry have never tackled the big hotels; they have confined themselves to smaller units—little cafes, cafeterias and night clubs—leaving the big and powerful concerns and the workers enslaved by them pretty much alone. Antiquated craft unionism demonstrates its inadequacy and the whole theory of the "partnership of capital and labor" goes to pieces when large-scale aggregations of capital are confronted.

The Amalgamated Food Workers arose as an independent industrial union in a field that was deserted and unoccupied just as similar organizations must and will take shape in other big industries which the craft unions are unable or unwilling to organize. It is not a "dual" union but the legitimate organization to serve the needs of the workers. The foremost and fundamental task in preparation for the general strike is to build and strengthen the Amalgamated Food Workers.

* * * *

Concentration on this fundamental task of organizing the workers into the Amalgamated does not, of course, prevent cooperation with other unions in the industry and, in our opinion, the Executive Board of the Amalgamated was right in declaring its readiness to engage in joint actions with the A. F. of L. unions in case the latter are really prepared to act, that is, to call a strike of the workers under their jurisdiction. Such a proposition can very well remain as a standing attitude provided it does not lead to illusions among the members that some nebulous combination or instrument outside the Hotel and Restaurant workers branch of the Amalgamated can be the driving force of a real strike. The Amalgamated itself is the driving force! It would be fatally wrong to shift attention from the fundamental task of organizing the unorganized hotel workers into the union to the field of negotiations, discussions and recriminations with other organizations which have no basis in the hotels. The mechanism for a strike is first of all is membership in a UNION. A hundred "joint committees" and "United Front Conferences" cannot be substituted for it.

* * * *

As the hotel and restaurant workers move toward a show-down with the rapacious exploiters who coin their lives into dollars one warning cannot be repeated too often. That is: Put no faith in the NRA, distrust every move it makes, rely on your organized strength and the soldarity of your fellow-workers alone!

There is no doubt that many hotel and restaurant workers believed in the NRA at first and expected that Roosevelt would really do something for them. They have reason to know better now. After the approval by the NRA of the shameless hotel and restaurant code—one of the very worst of all, with its 54-hour week and similar odious provisions in favor of the bosses—it should be clear to every thinking worker that no help can be expected from this quarter. Just the contrary. The whole NRA scheme was hatched to head off the independent action of the workers, fill them with false hopes, dampen down their militancy and harness them for a long time to the old conditions. The proof of this, which has been amply provided already in the experience of the hotel and restaurant workers, is driving them to unionization and to concrete preparations for a strike. That is the only way to success in the struggle to improve conditions and make life more bearable for the cruelly exploited workers of the hotel and restaurant industry of New York.

o—o—o—o—o—o

Mooney Appeals Again

YEARS pass, the case of Mooney becomes an old story, the movement for his release ebbs and flows and ebbs again, militants grow tired and neglect the fight, but there is one who never tires, never quits and never surrenders, and that is the indomitable rebel, white haired and aging in prison, who carries the burden of the case on his own shoulders. The letter from Tom Mooney which is printed in this issue of the **Militant** is another reminder of this fact. It is an appeal which no militant worthy of the name can read without emotion and without a resolve to take up the fight again in his behalf.

Only a few weeks ago Mooney passed his 51st birthday—more than a third of his years have been spent continuously in prison. To our shame his birthday passed without a wave of public demonstrations and tumult in the street. To our shame the fight for his release has again become a perfunctory, routine affair. It must not remain on this plane. We must gather all our forces and energies together again to make the labor movement ring with his name, to make the demand for his liberation a living and burning issue of the whole working class.

The Mooney case is not an extraneous issue; it is fused together inseparably with awakening revolt of the American workers against capitalism and all its works. The name of Mooney is a banner of struggle. His spirit is the expression of the aspiring struggle of labor for life and freedom. And just as he symbolizes by his dauntless rebel spirit the undying struggles of the workers, so also does the barbarous and inhuman punishment imposed upon him till the true story of the class justice of today. The fight for Mooney is a fight against the whole system of slavery, exploitation, hunger and injustice. The fight for Mooney is the workers' own fight.

The weight of the class system bears down ever more heavily on the masses. They feel every more intensely in their own daily lives the iniquities of the hateful regime; their grievances bring them into closer sympathy with all who suffer oppression and injustice. They can become one with Mooney who symbolizes their rebellion and pays for it with a living death in the California prison. It is our task to hasten this fusion in a renewed fight for Tom Mooney.

* * * *

The remarks of Mooney about the Chicago Congress and its aftermath are painful to read. It is clear from these remarks, as has been pointed out in these columns many times, that those who monopolized the leadership of the Left wing labor movement in recent years are able only to disorganize to disrupt and to destroy. The blight of their influence is felt even in the defense movement for labor prisoners, and the Mooney case is not the first example of their capacity to sacrifice the interests.

A genuine and legitimate non-partisan defense organization is an urgent need. This is widely felt and recognized already. Mooney's letter brings the issue out into the open more prominently. There is much to be said on the questions raised in Mooney's letter. In next week's **Militant** we shall return to the subject again.

Transport Tie-up in Philadelphia Sympathy Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

appeals of Senator Wagner and Dr. Leiserson, secretary of the Nation- of the taxi drivers and the transportation workers for action, the local union of the International Brotherhood declared for a strike of all transportation workers in Philadelphia on Friday, December 22nd. Nine unions with the additions of hundreds not yet organized responded. The following were included: Brotherhood of Transportation Workers, 11,000; Railway Express Drivers, 3,000; Teamsters, 3,000; Milk Wagon drivers, 2,000; Bakery wagon drivers, 2,000; Laundry wagon drivers, 1,100; Dry Cleaning drivers, 75; Piano Movers, 500. Thousands of transport workers stood in the cold for hours outside the strike headquarters and enthusiastically cheered the strike call.

Through striking under a call to make "the bosses agree to abide by the Labor Board's decision", (from the strike leaflet) the drivers are in conflict not only with the bosses directly, but also with the governmental NRA itself. This must be fully realized by the strikers and all workers as a guard against deception.

Many already understand. They say, "we'll die of old age or starvation or both waiting for the NRA to do something." The strike call itself speaks of the strike as labor's only weapon now.

Supporting Taxicab Drivers

The strike approached but did not become a general strike in transportation. It was called in support of the embattled taxicab drivers. But it is not that alone. The individual unions have their own grievances and demands. Thus the milk drivers who are the strongest reinforcement in the strike and are out almost solidly, are striking for better hours and higher wages and union recognition. They have been organizing all Summer long and are now stirred into action by the practise of the milk companies singling out union militants and firing them off the job. The same applies to the laundry drivers and cleaners drivers. The Brotherhood of Transportation Workers, an independently organized union which entered the A. F. of L. as a second local at the conclusion of a successful strike a couple of months ago, is using the strike to further strengthen its organization.

Betrayal of Bakery Drivers

The bakery drivers union has once more been betrayed. Three months ago they went on strike and were misled into returning to their jobs under old conditons, under promise of favorable action by the National Labor Board. For two months the National Labor Board considered their demands—for two months the Bakers' Club (the association of the bosses) have been busy demoralizing the workers by firing the active unionists from the job.

But when it comes to strikes-breaking, the NRA and all its boards and officers are on the job. Within two days of the general walkout the National Labor Board "grants" the bakery drivers a 44 hour week maximum and a $27.50 week minimum pay, obviously prompted by efforts to break the unity of the workers. Without any agreement on the part of the bosses, the union officials called off their strike and sent the men back. Now the drivers, who see no indication on the part of the bakers to recognize the award of the union, are demanding action. In fact not all of the drivers went back, hundreds are still out despite the union order. This Thursday the union is taking another strike vote.

Labor Fakers in Action

As soon as the American Federation of Labor Executive Board became cognizant of the sweep of the strike and the enthusiasm it aroused it came to the aid of—the bosses. "Lieutenant" Daniel J. Tobin, International president of the Teamsters' Union came out with his wire to the local state organizer of the union, Thomas O'Brien, that the strike is illegal! "No permission was asked and none was given to call a general strike...." This stab in the back has had its effect. At the present writing five unions remain out on strike, four having gone back. The taxi, milk, laundry men now constitute the backbone of the strike.

It is imperative for the speedy success of the strike—that of the taxi men as well as that of the other unions—that the strike be extended to a complete general tie-up. The strike must go to the P. R. T. workers—subway, bus and street car; and, if need be, to call out not only the drivers but the inside production workers as well.

To date neither the Socialist party nor the Communist party have made public any announcement on the strike. The S. P. is in the background of the taxicab union and, to a lesser extent of other unions. In this way it hopes not to embarrass the A. F. of L. officialdom and to absolve itself from any commitments before the workers. The C. P. has made no other contribution than a miserable leaflet by the sterile T. U. U. L. The T. U. U. L. Butcher drivers has been given representation, on the strike committee as has the Independent Retail Laundry Drivers.

The leaflet issued by the local branch of the Communist League calls for a complete transport strike, the six-hour day five-day week with union wages and for a policy of class struggle against class collaboration.

—LEON GOODMAN.

Hotel Workers Drive Toward General Strike

(Continued from page 1)

cussed and approved definite wage-scales which are now part of the official demands of the union, specifying in detail the minimum rates of pay for different types of work of varying degrees of skill and responsibility. The union demands include:

Full recognition of the union.

A minimum wage of $20 a week for the lowest-paid workers in the industry.

Specific minimum wage-scales for higher pay for the more skilled workers.

Tips to be entirely separate from wages.

A minimum working-week of 40 hours, consisting of 5 days of 8 hours each.

No split watch.

No charges for meals, uniforms or laundering.

The next stage in the development of the union will be marked b the increasing populariaztion and agitation for these demands, which will be put in the center of the organizing activity, and the preparation to enforce the demands by general strike action.

A mass meeting has been called for Thursday evening, Dec. 28, at 9 p. m., at the union headquarters, 915-917-919 Eighth Avenue, to put the demands of the union before the hotel and restaurant workers and explain the preparations which are necessary to obtain them.

The Confidence in NRA

Every worker will have to realize that these demands will not be conceded merely by asking for them. The hotel and restaurant men themselves are well-organized, and prepared to resist every serious demand for improving conditions. This is shown not only by the vicions conditions which they have attempted to saddle firmly on the industry through the codes (54-hour week which is really 60 hours, concealed wage cut through introducing charge for meals, taking wages out of tips, etc.), but by their efforts to promote company unions in one form or another, refusal to deal with unions, attempts to discriminate against active union men, etc.

Here and there, particluarly in houses where the Amalgamated is well-organized, the bosses have thrown out a few concessions—scattered wage increases, even rearrangements of shifts to shorten hours. This has been particularly true since the Montclair workers went out solidly on strike, cooks, waiters, busboys, dishwashers, etc., under the banner of the Amalgamated. The workers generally understand, however, that these are only sops to keep them quiet and head off further advances of the union.

The American Federation of Labor locals have been coming forward with particularly militant phrases, threatening a general strike of protest against the codes, in which they have claimed to have the support of the Amalgamated and of the Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Guilds (the company-union type organization recently built up out of the previously-existing fraternal clubs and professional societies such as the Geneva, Vatel, Helvetia, etc.). The Federation at once repudiated any connection with a strike, although it appeared to vacillate a little later; meantime it has been advertizing for extra workers for New Year's Eve.

Prefering for General Strike

The Amalgamated has made its position clear with regard to the A. F. of L. publicity as to the thratened protest strike. It is unconditionally opposed to the codes, and as long ago as Nov. 21 at a mass meeting passed a resolution denouncing the codes and stating that the workers were prepared in defense of their conditions "to use the effective weapon of the general strike". All our organizing work is directed to this end and we intend to make the general strike a real one.

As opposed to the bosses' demands, embodied in the codes, for perpetuating and aggravating the miserable conditions which prevail in the industry, we set up the working class solution to the problems of the industry: higher wages and shorter hours to raise the standards of the workers and relieve unemployment. We know that we cannot get these things without a struggle, and specifically a general strike.

It is important and necessary to make every effort to obtain the greatest possible unity in action of the labor organizations in the industry in support of any serious action for the purpose of enforcing these class demands, including not only a well-prepared and powerful general strike movement but also such actions as joint mass meetings or protest actions to prepare for it. It is essential, however, that every such step should be a serious part of a definite program calculated on the basis of the real forces available and have behind it the full weight of the organizations concerned.

—A. F. W. WORKER.

New York Printers Organize Union

New York.—A general meeting of unorganized printers took place on December 17, 1933 at Germania Hall. It was called by the Independent Printing Employees. A prominent feature was the presence of a number of union men who encouraged the new body with warm words from the floor. Official representatives of Big Six and Pressmen's Local No. 51 were also given an opportunity to express their views. Numerous applications for membership were filed with the committee after the speeches and discussion.

These workers listened with attention and enthusiasm to a member of the Organization Committee. D. S. Gordon, who described the wretched conditions in the trade, the disastrous competition between union and non-union printers and the advantage taken of this division by the employers. He pointed out that while the printing bosses were combining to secure higher prices from the NRA code now under discussion more than half of the printers in this city are unorganized and ignored by the A. F. of L. unions, which through their prohibitive initiation fees, their closed membership books and long periods of apprenticeship have become closed corporations to a huge section of the unorganized. Concluding with an appeal for organization and action as the only effective method for the unorganized to improve conditions, Gordon stated that it was the intention of this union to work as closely with the other union men and their organizations as possible and to work for the establishment of one union in the industry.

The floor was thrown open for discussion and printer after printer got up on his feet describing conditions urging the need for organization and counselling courage and determination for the Independent Printing Employees. The printers present took heart and hope when members of "Big Six" and the Pressmen's Union No. 51 told them that they too were opposed to the policies of the leadership of these their respective organizations for unons, that they were fighting for an industrial instead of the craft union, for the organization of the unorganized. They wished the new Union success and offered to fight for it inside the A. F. of L. unions.

The presence in the meeting of Thomas J. O'Connell, Label Representative of Typographical Union No. 6 and Edwin L. Duck, Special Representative of the N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, gave the new union recognition, however informal, almost from its inception. These A. F. of L. representatives, soft spoken, silver-tongued, confidential back-slappers, consumed considerable time of the meeting explaining to the workers the great work they were carrying on and how easy it was to join up in their organizations. The printers plagued them with questions, recounting their unsuccessful attempts in gaining admission to the A. F. of L. Facts were counterposed to honeyed words and Duck and O'Connell did considerable wriggling and squirming. It can be said with certainty that the speeches of these A. F. of L. representatives served to confirm the imperative need for the new union in the minds of the assembled printers.

In reply to the discussion Gordon properly exposed the pretensions and deception of the A. F. of L. representatives, stating in reply to one of them who said that where there was a "will to get into the Pressmen's Union or 'Big Six' anyone could enter", that the new union not onl had the will but the determination to crash the closed doors of the above unions. But it was well aware that this could only be accomplished by the unorganized taking the job into their own hands through the pressure of the new union.

Additions were made to the Organization Committee which will proceed with the stupendous task of gathering all the unorganized printers under the banner of the Independent Printing Employees.

—A PRINTER.

A Letter from Mooney

(Continued from page 1)

Sheet for the film, "THE STRANGE CASE OF TOM MOONEY". If this Motion Picture should be shown in all of the motion picture houses of this country, my continued imprisonment would be impossible. If you are a member of any organization, move for the appointment of a committee to call upon the managers of all the motion picture houses in your city, showing this press shoot, and urging that they show this film in their theatre; assuring them that if it is shown, your committee and all of the members of your organization, will do all possible to secure the largest attendance while it is being shown—that you will help to secure local publicity through the press and other sources.

Eighteenth Year in Prison.

July 27, 1933, I began my eighteenth year in prison for a crime that I was acquitted of on the 24th day of last May. That is democratic capitalist class justice—with a vengeance.

I do sincerely hope that you will treat with generous consideration this most urgent appeal for help—commensurate with your means and the worthiness of this cause. I plead with you, I urge you, I implore you not lightly, or throw it into the waste basket. Just think of what it means to an innocent man—buried alive in this tomb of forgotten men—for seventeen of the best years of his life—denied and deprived of all that life holds dear. How would you feel if you were so brutally treated? Won't you do as much for me as you would like thers to do for you, if in a similar predicament?

Accept my heartfelt thankful appreciation for any consideration you may show this desperate appeal.

With my warmest personal regards and best proletarian greetings, I am,

Comradely yours,

TOM MOONEY 31921
SAN QUENTIN PRISON

Notes of the Week

MR. ERNEST T. WEIR, steelmaster, very quietly challenged Section 7a of the NRA last week. He held an "election" in the mills of the Weirton Steel Company (a subsidiary of the National Steel, of which he is president) at which 49 company union men were delegated as "representatives of their own choosing" by the mill-hands. To keep up race, the Labor Board and General Johnson protested, fretted and threatened.

* * * *

But Mr. Weir, the papers tell us, read "David Copperfield" for the hundred and first time. "It gets better with each reading", he remarked.

* * * *

The steelmaster, "a rugged individualist who came up from the ranks in the old American way", has every cause to maintain his equanimity. "The next step is up to the administration", and that the administration will merely mark time is self-evident from all past experiences.

* * * *

This is not the first and we don't believe it will be the last instance of the utter contempt with which big business regards the ever so solemn agreements concluded from time to time by the code authorities in Washington. The National Steel made more profit in 1931, according to reports, than all the other steel companies put together. That is a persuasive enough argument to counter any of the General's forceful paper ultimata which serve as a veil for feeble action. Such arguments abound in the ranks of the rugged individualists.

* * * *

In most cases, the next step on the part of the administration is a surrender to the captains of industry all along the line. A case in point is the latest development in the needle industry. There the code authorities, after arbitrating the great New York strike last fall with a seeming victory for the workers, have now made public some rulings which practically turn the tables in favor of the employees. A so-called "sub-normality" clause permits the payment of a wage below the established minimum to "slow" workers. What other effect can this have but the granting of a loophole to the needle bosses by which they can abolish the minimum wage altogether? Another ruling in the same industry gives the Southern and Western employers the right to pay their workers from 30 to 40 per cent lower wages than in the East. What other effect can this have but the enforced reestablishment of the Sweatshop?

* * * *

At a meeting of unorganized workers and union men, an A. F. of L. official who is also serving on one of the NRA Complaint Boards told those present that he believed the chiselers had wormed their way clear into the NRA itself. Being all hepped up by the propaganda against the chiselers, the good man appeared to be quite outraged by this fact. It never occured to him that an administration which stands four-square for a system—the profit system of capitalism—which upholds the free-for-all grab and may the best chiseler win, cannot help being swamped by them.

* * * *

While the American workers may not as yet have come to the realization that it is up to them as a class to take the works into their own hands and run industry for the benefit of all the people, they are nevertheless gropingly doing something about it. They are realizing already with increasing clarity that NRA won't do a thing for them unless they themselves get together in formations of their own and see that they get whatever they can out of it. They no doubt notice with growing apprehension the fact that out of 3,000,000 Blue Eagles issued to the boss class—and how many million violations?—the National Recovery Administration announces only 58 (fifty-eight!) withdrawals....

—G....n.

Another «Friend» of the Soviet Union

The great wit of the bourgeoisie, George Bernard Shaw, has discovered a new love. Before the war it was the Fabian Society, the pinkest of all pink organizations. During the war he served God and Empire. Recently his love was the Soviet Union, whose hotels at last had hot water, and whose trains at last ran. And now it is Herr Hitler.

"Describing Hitler as 'a very able man' Mr. Shaw said he had the genius to realize 'that Germany had been kicked long enough.' (**New York Times.**)

We cannot blame Mr. Shaw. He always was just one thing—a bourgeois, a very clever and, at times, a caustically critical one, but none the less a bourgeois. And Mr. Shaw is perfectly right. Adolph is a great man—for the bourgeoisie. For the workers Hitler is hell incarnate.

The danger lies not in Mr. Shaw being a bourgeois, but in the willingness of so-called proletarian leaders to take him for something else. And the danger becomes disaster when the Stalinist leaders of the Comintern rely upon Mr. Shaw and his fellows as the "friends" and defenders of the Soviet Union. Shaw and his friends are only petty bourgeois or bourgeois masqueraders, and when they get tired or scared of the red get-up, they'll change it for black, brown or blue. Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Lord Marley, and all the rest will very probably disappear long before the battle which decides whether the Horst Wessel song shall be sung in Moscow's streets by Hitler's brown shirts—or whether the Internationale shall be heard in Berlin.

Mr. Shaw has shown these people the road. It is useless for Communists to blame them for taking it; they are what they are. But all workers must watch with suspicion those leaders of the Soviet Union, the whole Stalinist bureaucracy, who prefer such friends and defenders to the revolutionary proletariat.

—M.

L E C T U R E

on the

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

by JACK WEBER

Monday, January 1st at 8 P. M.

at 126 East 16th Street

C H I C A G O F O R U M

Lecture by Albert Goldman

on

SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

When and How It Will Be Achieved

Sunday Eve., January 7th, 8:30 p. m.

at the

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Admission 10 Cts. Unemployed Free

Auspices: Friends of the Militant Club

THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION

"The Communist Party of America does not concern Russia, and the Communist Party of Russia does not concern America." Transport this formula of Litvinoff to Europe and you have: "The Communist Party of Germany does not concern Russia and the Communist Party of Russia does not concern Germany." OR: "The World Communist Parties do not concern Russia and Russia does not concern The World Communist Parties." Thus Spoke Stalinism!

MINNEAPOLIS OPEN FORUM

L E C T U R E S

Sunday, January 7th at 3 P. M.

WHAT HAS THE STATE LEGISLATURE DONE ABOUT RELIEF?

Speaker: C. R. HEDLUND

January 14th, at 3 P. M.

IS THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM BRINGING RECOVERY?

Speaker: WILLIAM KITT

January 21st, at 3 P. M.

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

Speaker: O. COOVER

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