

Wall Street Conspiracy For Fascist Coup Revealed

General Smedley Butler's revelation of a three million dollar Fascist plot right here in the United States, a home grown Nazi Putsch plan, should serve to silence those profound theoreticians who see something unique in the American nation, some national essence which will enable America to solve her problem "in her own way". While General Butler's discoveries do not reveal the Fascists as a serious menace, they indicate that incipient fascism is here and only waits its opportunity.

General Butler has been approached by no less than 42 organizations, 42 would-be American blackshirts. Most of these probably justify the General's description of "crackpot", but at least one was perfectly serious, had a plan, and claimed the necessary financial backing.

A year or so ago General Butler was approached by Gerald Mac-Guire, a bond salesman for a New York brokerage firm, the Grayson M. P. Murphy Co. According to General Butler's account MacGuire

Weavers Set

hands of the bosses is best illus-

trated by the manner in which the

yellow Paterson press has utilized

Keller's stalling tactics in order to

sow confusion in the workers'

ranks. Thus, the Paterson Sunday

Eagle. under the scarehead:

WORKERS IN SILK INDUSTRY

SET DAY AND HOUR TO QUIT

BUT CHANGE THEIR MINDS-

reports as follows: "The silk work-

over-anxious to agree to the new

strike order, many of them feeling

that the time was inopportune for

offered him eighteen thousand dol-« lars to go to Chicago and speak in favor of the Gold Standard. When Butler refused MacGuire said, according to Butler, "Don't be a fool, why don't you do like Harbord (General Harbord, U.S.A.) and Deadline for Sims (Admiral Sims, U.S.N.) and make some money out of it. The government doesn't care for you, so why don't you act like a business man." Butler refused and MacGuire continued, "Murphy is in Europe, but I'll have Colonel Clark Keller's Pussyfooting Aids come and see you."

Morgan Lurks In Picture

Colonel Clark did come to see the General and renewed the offer.

Colonel Clark, by the way, is Robert Sterling Clark, who inherited a portion of the Singer Sewing Machine fortune, and who is now reputed to be worth some fifty mil- at 12 midnight Wednesday. lion. In the course of his conversation Colonel Clark revealed, according to Butler, that the speech which he, Butler, was to give in return for the eighteen thousand had been written by John W. Davis. John W. Davis, one time Democratic nominee for President, is, at present, counsellor at law for the firm of J. P. Morgan.

"We need a fascist government," MacGuire said, "to save the nation from the communists who would tear down all that has been built up in America. The only men who have the courage to do it are the soldiers, and General Butler is the ers at yesterday's meeting were not man to do it.

"All General Butler would have to do to get a million men would be to announce the formation of an organization and tell them it would cost a dollar a year to join.

Offered Three Million

Youth Greet Easley Plots Last Minute Delegates Meet to Decide Convention The Spartacus Youth League of America warmly greets the dele-

gates to the national conventions of the Communist League and the American Workers Party which will open in New York City November 26. We feel confident that the comrades fresh from different phases of the class struggle, on the basis of varied experiences will help to forge the instrument of revolutionary strug-

gle: the new workers' party. The accomplishment of this great task rests upon your shoulders. You will be called upon to take the first step in the building of the new party, by merging the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America. The young militants of the Spartacus Youth League have and will continue to aid in the achievement of this aim. At our national convention to be held in New York City December 3-4-5, our delegates will confront the problem of the next steps in this struggle. They will consider the relation of the Spartacus Youth to the new workers Party, if it is formed, before our convention. The Spartacus Youth will watch

your deliberations with great interest. Accept our comradely greetings as a pledge of unrelentless struggle for working class revolution. For a revolutionary Marxist

party! raised by the pathetic supporters For the world workers' party, of Eli Keller, General Manager of the Fourth International! the Paterson local of the U.T.W. How his activities play into the

National Committee, Spartacus Youth League of America.



Role

reasons.

is making a bad guess.

This will be followed by the Fusion December 2. The Spartacus Youth League convention will open Dec. conventions will be held at Stuyvesant Casino.

Next week the Supreme Court of the U.S. will be asked to reverse the Alabama verdict which conthe Youth convention. This means that we have to feed these comdemns two of the nine Scottsboro court will consider the cases of the Fusion Conference.

both Heywood Patterson and Clar-Arrangements have been made ence Norris, or whether the forto take care of the feeding. Our mer is "out of court" for technical own comrades will attend to the cooking. We also have to accom-The world is also mystified as to modate the delegates with sleeping who will appear as counsel in the quarters.

Supreme Court hearing. The I.L.D. In the last issue of the Militant continues to maintain that its atwe called for donations of food stuffs. Two of our sympathizers torneys, O. Frankel and W. Pollak, will make the appeal. Samuel S. have responded. Comrade Pauline Leibowitz has said nothing for a M. has offered us 10 loaves of bread couple of weeks, but anybody who daily and comrade Harrison thinks he has shot his last arrow of Brooklyn is sending us some bakings. Paul King, member of The N. Y. Nation reports that the the downtown branch of New York State of Alabama is out to arrest will give some butter and eggs. Ruby Bates for perjury. Ruby Harry Strang of New York, donated Bates is the girl who was bribed \$50 to help.

and bulldozed by the Sheriff of We still need coffee, sugar, po-Scottsboro, three years ago, to tatoes, etc. swear she was raped by the nine

CAN YOU CONTRIBUTE ANYyoung Scottsboro boys. She later THIN TO HELP FEED THE DELeversed her testimony. Now Ala-EGATES? bama wants to get her in a jail cell, pound her plenty, and make

Write to the office of the Militant. We also need about 10 more sleeping accommodations.



starvation standards. To Greet the National Conferences of the American

Workers Party and the Communist League

(Continued on Page 4)

SPEAKERS: employes to leave the mills and join the dye workers." Who were **JAMES P. CANNON A.J. MUSTE** the "many"? Keller, Keller, and MINNEAPOLIS: Leaders of the Famous Strikes of Local 574-Vincent Dunne **Carl Skoglund TOLEDO:** Organizers of Mass Picket Line that Broke the Injunction **Ted Selander** Sam Pollack MINERS: Outstanding Leaders of the Militant Left Wing-Gerry Allard **Brant Scott** of West Virginia UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT: Leaders of the National Unemployed League-**Bill Truax Anthony Ramuglia** Arnold Johnson NEGRO STRUGGLES: Outstanding Negro Militants ---E. R. McKinney James Watson of Pittsburgh of Philadelphia Jo Drake Arrington **DEEP SOUTH:** of Gulfport, Miss. SPARTACUS YOUTH National Secretary of the Spartacus Youth League---**Joseph Carter** CANADA: Leaders of the Workers Party of Canada-**Maurice Spector** Jack MacDonald CHAIRMEN: Max Shachtman Louis F. Budenz SUNDAY, DEC. 2nd, - 8 p.m. Germania Hall 16th St. & Third Av.

Keller. The same Keller who early announced that the mendous drive of the mass of the

Call onNewParty atConventions The Convention of the Communist League opens on November 26 Labor history will be made in New York City this coming week. and will last through the 29th. The eyes of every revolutionist and class conscious militant in the United States will be turned to the conventions of the Communist League Conference, November 30 through of America and the American Workers Party.

At these conventions, to open on November 26th and to conclude on November 29th, the momentous step for the organization of a new revo-3 and last through the 5th. All the lutionary party in the United States will be debated and decided. On November 30th, given a favorable outcome at the respective

conferences of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A .--- and every indication points We expect 50 delegates for the that way-the representatives of both organizations will meet in joint C.L.A. convention and about 30 for convention and there hitch the wagon of revolution to a new star-the Workers Party of the United States.

Delegates from all parts of the country are pouring into New York. boys to die. The world at large is rades, in addition to the A.W.P. A galaxy of the most distinguished representatives of the working still mystified as to whether the delegates during the three days of class, from the class war battle fields of the glorious Minneapolis strike.



from Toledo, from the scene of the Frisco general strike, from the coal fields of Illinois and West Virginia, from the unemployed movement in the heart of America, from every major industrial and political center from coast to coast, from Canada to the Gulf, are gathering to make a decision that will mark a turning point in the course of the American proletariat.

Not sleek, self-satisfied bureaucrats such as are seen at A. F. of L. conventions but fighting militants fresh from the picket linesthese are the delegates that will be seen at the conventions of the C.L. A. and the A.W.P. More than 750,000 organized un-

employed, backed by almost a mil-They are coming not in Pullmans lion additional jobless workers and with luxurious sleepers, not in trade union members, will take to limousines. Far from it. On freight the streets at 10 A.M. today, in the trains, on the highways, "thumbing" leading cities of 22 states, to voice a ride, in ramshackle automobiles, their protest against unemployment the delegates are beating their way and unsatisfactory relief conditions, to New York.

and to demand the adoption of an All of them will be present and eight-point platform which alone the best of them represented on the can relieve them from present platform at the mass meeting to

greet the conferences of th C.L.A. In New York City the marchers and the A.W.P. which will be held will assemble at Union Square at on December 2, 8 P.M. at Germania 10 A.M. They will go north on Hall, 160 Third Ave., N. Y. C. Fourth Avenue to 33rd Street: west

The list of speakers is a first to Madison Ave.; thence south past class treat for the New York workthe TERA offices at 79 Madison; down to 23rd St.; west to Broading class: Vincent Dunne, Miles way, and south to Union Square Dunne and Carl Skoglund-leaders where a mass meeting will be held. of the Minneapolis drivers' strike; A committee will present the de- | Ted Selander and Sam Pollack who mands of the unemployed to the led the picket line that broke the State Relief Administration at injunction in Toledo, Arnold John-11:30 A.M. Representatives of all son, Bill Truax and Anthony Ramorganizations officially part of the uglia, leading militants in the unemployed movement: Gerry Allard parade will be included in the from the Illinois miners movement: committee.

Among the organizations particcoal fields. Negro militants from ipating in New York are the Work-Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; Joers Unemployed Union, the New seph Carter, National Secretary of York Assn. of Unappointed Teach-Miles Dunne the Spartacus Youth League; Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald, four I.L.G.W.U. locals, Milinery spokesmen for the Workers Party Workers Locals 24 and 42, Internaof Canada. tional Pocketbook Workers Union, Suitcase and Bagmakers Union, N. The convention of the American Y. locals of the United Textile Workers Party opens on November Workers, Capmakers, Printing 28 and ends November 30. For de-Pressmens Local 51; Joint Council tails see the current issue of Labor of Furriers, Radio Workers, and Action which is on the press at this Painters Local 261. The Communist writing. League of America, American The convention of the Communist Workers Party, C.P.O. and Social-League, marking the third in its ist Party are also backing the demhistory and the consummation of onstration. six years of struggle, will open at Next Tuesday fifteen representathe Stuyvesant Casino, Ninth Street tives of leading unemployed organand Second Ave. at 10'A.M. Monizations will meet with Secretary day, November 26. More than 50 of Labor Frances Perkins and delegates from approximately 20 Federal Relief Administrator Harry cities will be represented. Hopkins in Washington to present The convention will hear reports the same relief demands. from members of the National Com-The 8-point platform includes mittee on the Situation and Perthe following: spectives of American Imperialism, 1. Federal public works to proon the Negro question, the internavide work for the unemployed at tional situation and the work of our trade union rates on the basis of international organization, on the \$30 for a 30-hour week; 2. Passage proposed programmatic statement of the Lundeen Unemployment Infor the new party which it will dissurance Bill now before Congress; cuss, amend and revise as it sees 3. Pending these, immediate direct cuss, amend and revise as it sees cash relief of \$10 weekly for single fit. It will draw a balance of years of factional activity which saved persons, \$15 weekly for families of the banner of Marxism from the two, and \$4 weekly for each addidisgrace of Stalinism. It will centional dependent; 4. Guarantee of ter its attention on moving out into the rights of organization and colthe class struggle and on forging lective bargaining to all workers the best instrument for this puron public projects; 5. Recognition pose. Here the question of fusion of representatives of organized unwith the American Workers Party employed by relief administrations; will be democratically discussed and a decision arrived at.

Brant Scott from the West Virginia



'It wouldn't be any trouble at all workers should "be glad that the to raise \$1,000,000. I could go to bosses agree to discuss with the any number of people right here in workers" New York and get it. (At one time

Keller's Stalling

MacGuire offered General Butler By his stalling, wishy-washy tac-\$3,000,000 "on the line".) MacGuire tics Keller is playing directly into intimated that the arms necessary the hands of the silk bosses whose for the movement could be obtained aim is to isolate the dyers from the from the Remington Arms Co. on rest of the industry. Instead of credit from the Dupont family, militancy he is preaching subservwhich owns a controlling interest ience-this in the face of the treof the company.

"I think the President could be silk workers to join hands with the persuaded to name Butler head of the CCC camps and that would give striking dyers.

But the silk workers will not be him the basis of an organization. stalled by Keller, or the maneuvers However if that doesn't work I of the bosses. They instructed have no doubt the general could entheir delegates to the national silk list 500,000 men in a very short convention to fight for a general time. "What we really need is a man strike in the silk industry; they

on a White Horse to save the capi- formed a special committee last talistic system. We might go along week to appear before the Joint with President Roosevelt and do Board and demand decisive action with him what Mussolini did with on the strike in Paterson. the King of Italy.

Expelled Members Reinstated,

"Roosevelt hasn't the real solu-Last week the Joint Board of the tion of the unemployment situation, A.F.S.W. local here reinstated to but we'll put across a plan that full membership all those who were will really be effective. All unem- expelled some five months ago ployed men will be put in military through Keller's machinations for barracks under forced labor, as their participation in the Roy (Al-Hitler does, that would soon solve bert) Shop strike. The reinstated the problem. Another thing we members participated in the Broad would do would be to register all Silk Department meeting of last persons in the United States, as Saturday. Among them were Felix they do in Europe. That would Giordiano, Eddie Sweyful and Bill stop a lot of Communist agitators | Hulihan, well known for their miliwandering around loose. tancy. They received an ovation.

Army Generals Involved The action of the Joint Board-(about which incidentally, none of

In the course of his various conversations, both with General But- the reinstated was informed except ler and with the reporter for the by word of mouth just prior to Sat N. Y. Post who was privvy to the urday's meeting)-can be construed conspiracy, MacGuire mentioned only as a repudiation of Keller's General MacArthur, Chief of Staff policies in general and in particular of the U.S. Army as a possible al- his entire course in the Roy situaternate for Butler, and Hanford tion-which has been so rabidly defended and misrepresented by the MacNider, former commander of the American Legion as a third al-Lovestoneites.

At the Broad Silk Department ternate. He also intimated that Louis Johnson, of West Virginia, meeting 10 delegates were elected another former National Command- for the coming A.F.S.W. national convention, scheduled to open this er of the Legion, and Henry Ste-Saturday in New York at the phens, of North Carolina, yet an-Woodstock Hotel, 127 West 123rd other former National Commander were "interested" in the plan. Street.

Once again Keller was repudiated MacGuire was called before a secret hearing of the Congressional -and this time by the entire membership of his local. He appeared committee investigating un-American activities after General Butler at the meeting with a recommendahad testified. His testimony was tion from the Joint Board that he

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(Continued on Page 4)

Admission 25 Cents

6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public works and to and from the job; 7. Diversion of all war funds to unemployment relief; 8. Passage of a universal 30 hour work week law without pay

cuts.

The conference of the Communist League will be open to delegates and members of the organization only.

The Fusion Convention, beginning on Nov. 30 at the Stuyvesant Ca-The demonstration means the be sino and ending December 2 will be ginning of a concerted and deteropen to all members, friends and mined drive of the organized unemsympathizers. ployed throughout the nation to se-

cure for themselves the program Revolutionary workers all over which they have adopted. The 12 the world will watch the proceedmillion unemployed will not contin- ings with keen attention and await ue to remain jobless or to exist on the results. The successful culminhome relief or work relief which ation of the fusion will be a milepays only \$6 to \$12 weekly. Once stone on the road to the Fourth Inthe unemployed have set their ternational.

faces toward our 8-point program The formation of a new party in which is their goal they will not America means the dawn of a new turn back until they have achieved era in the history of the world proletariat. Forward!

# What the Inner Regime of the Communist Party Looks Like

The Communist party of the U.S. | more simply and bluntly, they were A. is beyond doubt the worst ex- exiled. Bittelman, for example, ample, in any capitalist country, of was sent to cool his heels in the the devastating effects of Stalinism desolate parts of Russia, and to this in the working class movement. day he has not been reinstalled to One question has persistently per- an important position. At the plexed the average militant: How Cleveland party convention early is it possible for the leadership to this year, Browder merely laid go from one blunder to another, to down the law, and Bittelman-once chalk up defeat after defeat for the a terror in the party but now a Communist party and the working broken reed-was not even elected class, to commit the greatest enor- to the Central Committee. Johnmities and crimes, without generat- stone, another Leftist suspect who ing a rank and file rebellion that was for "cleaning out" all the Lovewould fling the leadership on to the stoneites, was sent packing to India. scrap-heap? An intimate know- Zack was spirited away to the ledge of the inner workings of the warm climes of Latin America. Stalinist machine, as exemplified by Krumbein was sent to England and its American section, will supply Bell to Ireland. After a period of the answer to this question. The testing and re-testing, Stalin finaldocuments and facts which we have | ly hit upon the least talented, and at hand will shed a revealing light. | consequently the most desirable, of

In considering a normal working the former Fosterites, Browder. class organization, it is customary | Bedacht, a post-1929 convention to start at the bottom and follow period member of the secretariat, the superstructure which is built up was pensioned off into the I.W.O. on it. That's exactly what would Minor, another secretariat member. be a fatally wrong and misleading was brutally driven out of any poapproach to the Communist party. litical work of directorial impor-The reason? It is not a normal tance and sent to make speeches. working class organization, but one The secretariat became a thing of of the most unique in modern times. | the past. The time was ripe for a Every last vestige of workers' de-| General-Secretary, and the proper mocracy has been destroyed in it, candidate was at hand. Browder root and branch. It can be ana- got the job. lyzed and understood only by start-The Rubber Stamp Pol-Bureau ing from the top and moving downward, just as you would do if you had to set about digging a ditch. lutely nobody but Stalin, who, like litical Bureau is the strangest one in Detroit. Browder got the neces- Party" handed out for the Cleve-It is with the intensely bureaucra-the Lord himself, giveth and taketh the party has had since its incep- sary pretext for this exile by ukase tized leadership that the beginning away and must be praised—con-tion. It is composed of Browder, when Weinstone allowed himself to (Before the Open Letter) there ted the delegates to the national must be made.

PAGE 2

#### **Inventing Miniature Stalins**

of leadership and organization has which has no actual control over is taken by Haywood. Astounding- internal regime, which inevitably 67. "BOL" there were 12 "other prevailed in the Third Internation- the General-Secretary. Its only ly enough, neither Hathaway, al for quite some time. It has now possible function is a potential one. Weinstone, Minor, nor Bedacht, them with a mailed fist so as not reached its highest point, or rather, That is, should the time come when Bittelman, Zack, Amter nor Krumits lowest depth. The first principle of the central Stalinist machine, in whose hands are all the controlmade the scapegoat for some catasling threads, is to find, manufactrophe which cannot easily be exture, groom or invent a thoroughly plained away, the Political Bureau, reliable "national leader". He beupon order from the Stalin machine comes a miniature Stalin, on a nawill automatically remove him into tional scale. Just as Stalin has oblivion. The fate of his predecesestablished the significant practice sors proves that no simpler problem of never having the party leaderexists in the world than to 'elimiship referred to any way except as nate over night the artificially man-"the Central Committee with comufactured "leaders" of the Stalinist rade Stalin at its head", he likeparties. wise arranges matters for those

whom he appoints in each country picked by Stalin, so he in turn perto serve him with what the Germans call "Kadavergehorsamkeit" whose composition and activities -the obedience of a corpse. Thus are unknown to nine-tenths of the the German Stalinist must repeat party membership! Here too is to every day, like a pious Mohammebe found a unique aspect of the dan, "the Bolshevik Central Com- Stalin internal regime. The Politi-

The New Party-The Answer to Stalinist Corruption before a national convention was held. In the second place, party chief from the very outset.

Following is the second of the ated by authentic facts, re-

Without fear of contradiction we can say that least of all are the members of the Communist party familiar with the inside information we are herewith disclosing. Without ever discovering the truth about the inner regime thousands of workers join it only subsequently to get out as fast as they can, many

Browder (god forbid!) gets too bein, are Political Bureau members. of leadership and the theory of full time functionaries". presumptuous, or if he must be None of them is needed, however much they all would like to occupy

neophytes are called into the Royal

alone paid out in wages exactly \$25,584.45 or over one-sixth of its mittee with comrade Thaelmann at cal Bureau must not be made up of can never hope to take Browder's annual expenditures, whereas in its head". The Frenchman must the leading, most experienced and place as The Leader. But he has 1933, it paid out in wages the sum make his ritualistic obeisance to most qualified party members. That a cordial dislike of Browder's in- of \$24,374.15, or almost exactly "the Bolshevik Central Committee might be necessary if there were testines and would give a pretty one-fourth of its annual expendiwith comrade Thorez at its head". any policies to discuss, or political penny to see him thrown to the tures, with more than an additional Hand-Picking Convention Delegates upon understanding, upon freely In the United States, the "head" is problems and disputes to thrash out lions. On at least two occasions \$30,000 going in the form of suband almighty poobah of the party. the "line" is simply handed down and Weinstone, especially with the and other bodies.

After the expulsion of the Love- from the Moscow secretariat to its latter, to put the boots to Browder. To this Central Committee bur- does, and it doesn't; essentially, it In his unit, the new party member stone clique in 1929, a secretariat agent in New York. He is directly But the system remained intact, eaucracy is attached a faithful doesn't. In the first place, conven- is loaded with a number of tasks, will grow all the more healthily was established in which those responsible. He sits in the center and with it, its secretarial incar- group of lesser functionaries who tions are increasingly rare. Where- the reasons for which are not Lovestoneites who jumped over the of the Political Bureau and, like nation. In effect, the ambitious owe their political existence to ap- as in the old days—the period of clearly explained to him, if at all. it learns from the decay of bureaufence in time had the majority. No a Delphic oracle, interprets the Hathaway was kicked down the pointment from above. In spite of the Lenin International – conven- Problems and policies are not demgeneral-secretary was appointed in transmitted "line". There is no steps and given a post which is of the fact that time and again, for tions were held every year and ocratically discussed in the units Moscow for the simple reason that discussion, and above all, no dis- no political importance at all in the the past few years, official resolu- sometimes more often, even when under any circumstances. The The next article in this series

tical criticisms this revelation of being forever lost to the revoluthe real situation in the ranks of American Stalinism ought to be an eye-opener. The disgraceful picture of what is going on in their own back vard should have a rousing effect on even the most rabid member of the C. P. It should clearly point to him that a party of this kind, corrupt to for failures which were the nathe very marrow, cannot lead the tural result of the political line, American revolution. It can only the membership has been led put the brakes on it and then from defeat to defeat like driven lead the working class to defeat. cattle. The revision of the fundamental teachings of Marx and Instead of walking out of the Lenin, the disastrous policies party and then the movement the leaving a trail of catastrophes militant should turn his feet in over ten years and throughout the direction of the new revolutionary party. Untainted either the world-the party membership was oblivious to all this. The with the crimes of Stalinism or Stalinist system of "education" its Jesuitical system, the new party will lead not to defeat but has two results: either the workers leave the party or they are to victory. Every policy will be inculcated with a blind faith and weighed and discussed by every member, every leader will be unquestioning discipline, more democratically chosen and conworthy of church disciples than trolled by the ranks. With such an internal regime based on the If the inner regime of the C.P. closed the eyes and the ears of foundations of Marx and Lenin victory is assured.-Ed. the workers in it to our theore-

were 82 full time district function-

aries, and 86 "now" (i.e., February

1934). "BOL" there were 66 full

whereas "now" reports 36! In ad-

With this as a compact machine

(and these figures are only a part

of the whole apparatus), the inner

regime is guaranteed the perfect

We have seen how the General

are handpicked. Let us trace the

The Political Bureau (read: the

"Gen-Sec") appoints all the dis-

trict organizers. If Browder is a

Secretary and the Political Bureau party conventions!

unanimity, monolithism and homo-

geneity of the graveyard.

system further.

in the ladder.

to undermine its autocratic system dition, the chart shows 231 "mass

papal infallibility which is insepar-

Stacked with Pie-Card Artists

and the Secretariat automatically

guarantees control of the various

districts and all the important con-

ventions which are, in passing, held

rarely enough. Browder has sur-

rounded himself with a sturdy and

highly subservient central staff-

the core of the bureaucracy. Its

overhead is a bit breathtaking. The

confidential financial report of the

Central Committee to the Cleveland

convention showed, according to

"Exhibit B" that in 1932, the C.C.

Control of the Political Bureau

able from it.

erican party: four years went by the intellectual and political develdemocracy has been so thoroughly "Theirs not to reason why; theirs eradicated, that the conventions are but to sell Daily Workers or go to fixed and settled well in advance by demonstrations or shout 'socialthe bureaucracy, and every little Fascist' today and the opposite todetail is so carefully arranged bemorrow."

forehand that every single aspect This is the horrible situation of the outcome can easily be forewhich the official plenum and contold by Browder. Here is how the vention resolutions of the C.P. refer conventions are manufactured: to when they speak of the "poor

The section or local conference inner life" of the party. You can't elects a "nominating committee" pick up a resolution without finding which has been prepared for it in that phrase in it. All sorts of remadvance. After looking over the edies are proposed, but not one of field, this committee recommends a them touches the heart of the probslate for approval by the convenlem, the basic cause. Nor can the Stalinist bureaucracy propose a tion, which, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, automatically "elects" fundamental remedy, for the simple the slate. It almost looks demo reason that bureaucratism, the abocratic. The delegates, for the most lition of party democracy, is the part, are not aware of the fact that direct and immediate cause of the both the "nominating committee" "poor inner life"

#### Leaps In-Bounds Out

mittee have been arranged in fine "Chart B" in the statistical madetail by the officialdom. It is true, terial given the Cleveland party of course, that additional nominaconvention delegates deals with tions are allowed by that unusual "Party Growth-Fluctuation". It phenomenon, the "independent" or gives the membership of the party, the uninitiated delegate. But such month by month, from January nominations very, very rarely alter 1931 to February 1934, along with the slate, which is pushed through the figures of what the membership with all the pressure of the united would have been "if recruits would bureaucratic apparatus. What haphave remained in Party". Thus, at pens at the district conventions is the beginning of 1931, the C. P. had repeated faithfully at the national 8,519 members. In February 1934, conventions. Before the Cleveland it records 22,344 members. The convention met, and before even the chart further records the fact that land convention shows that "BOL" district convention met which elec-"if recruits would have remained in Party", the membership in that gathering. Browder was in a posimonth (Feb. 1934) would have been tion to know the name of every 56,595. In other words, from the delegate who would attend-practibeginning of 1931 to the beginning cally to a man. He knew with of 1934, the C. P. took in 48,076 even greater exactitude and cernew members, a steady average of tainty just who would be "elected" more than 1,300 new members to the incoming Central Committee. every month for three years. Of The "nominating committee" and these 48,076, there remained in the the slate were arranged in advance. party only 13,825; the rest, 34,251, And just as is the case with a quit the party. Which means that Democratic party candidate in Misout of every four workers who sissippi or Alabama-nomination is joined the C. P. in the last three equivalent to election. In the deepyears, three left the party and only est and truest sense of the word, the one stayed in it! In 1918, Lenin central party bureaucracy appoints said about the peasants who were the delegates to the extremely rare quitting the trenches and refusing to fight any longer, that they were But why do the members tolerate such a despotic regime? The answer is that most of them do not

#### **Baracks Discipline**

tolerate it.

and the slate for the District Com-

paper-backed pamphlet edition of Workers are attracted to the Stalin, the district organizers are party because of its militancy and leaflet edtions of Browder. They its activity, although its activity is American workers can be won to select their District Bureaus. In about as effective as churning up a Communism by the thousands. The turn, these actually appoint each section organizer, who picks him- lot of tepid water in a bowl. The mass exodus from the party of self a section bureau subject to the first, and usually the only principle those workers who get a small critical eye of the higher body. they are taught in the party is obe- sample of the regime and its poli-Thus it runs down to the last rung dience, disguised under the name of "discipline". Lenin's axiom that ages caused by the pestilence called revolutionary discipline is based But the party conventions-hasn't and democratically organized dis-

Earl Browder, General - Secretary collectively. But under Stalinism, he has intrigued with Hathaway sidies to the district organizations the membership a chance then? cussion, is considered a petty bour-Does it not elect the delegates? It geois prejudice in the party today.

Stalin was taking no chances with pute. How can there be? To devi- party nowadays, the Daily Worker tions have vowed that the next the American Communist party was "line" has already been settled up will deal with the phenome

voting against a continuation of the war with their feet. For the most part, it can be repeated today, the workers who quit the party in such a hurry are voting against the bureaucracy and its regime with their feet. Those who stream into the C. P. are living testimony that the cies, is tragic witness to the rav-Stalinism.

The curse of bureaucratism has doomed its victim to irremediable disintegration. The putrescent obstacle of the C.P. must make way

pression of party democracy under Stalinism.

series on what is going on behind tionary movement. the scenes of the Communist This regime has blinded the Party of the United States. The eyes of hundreds of otherwise startling facts revealed in the sterling militants to the real article are sufficiently explained crimes of Stalinism. Plunged inand consequently require no to hectic but very futile activity. introductory comment. Every made the scapegoats for the false argument made is substantipolicies of the leadership, blamed

liable information and official documents. No revolutionary worker can read this amazing revelation and not be revolted at the combination system, includ ing the worst features of the Roman Catholic Church and the ugliest sides of Tammany Hall, which prevails in a party that calls itself "Communist".

of revolutionaries.

and keep your mouth shut. That | when he tried it a second time; he | than before. Thus, "Chart D" on Browder is responsible to abso- is why the present Browderian Po- was sent off as district organizer the "Organizational Status of the stantly. The Political Bureau of Stachel, Ford, Hudson and Foster. state that the Washington bonus the party, once an important, re- The latter being ill and unable to demonstration was an "adventure" sponsible and representative body, attend meetings without seriously and that the veterans were nothing The Stalinist theory and practice is today a hand-picked institution aggravating his malady, his place but "marching bums". Stalinism's time section organizers, and "now" produces such intrigues, suppresses full time section functionaries",

> the coveted place. Political Bureau meetings are positively weird affairs. The four

Presence, and summoned to give their reports. They do. Browder takes notes. Then he takes the floor and hands down the decisions. The meeting adjourns. And that is all. No questioning, no discussing, Just as Browder is personally above all no disputing. That has been tried before, openly and covsonally picks the Political Bureau, ertly, and every venturesome soul came to a bad end.

**Rife with Intrigues** 

For example: Stachel knows that, for this reason and that, he

unknown quantities; he wanted to ate to the Right or Left of a deci- editorship. As punishment, he is task of the party is the reduction of underground and illegal, the inter- above. Just as it was transmitted corruption in the Stalinist party, be sure of his man first. Little by sion is just about the most danger- not even a member of the Political the number of full time paid func- vals are far greater now. The to the "up above" by a still higher again on the basis of documents, be sure of his han hist. Little by such is just about the most danger not even a member of the routical the number continues to accuments, the number continues to Third International has held only officialdom, so it is transmitted concrete facts and examples, and gone through. Recalcitrant Foster- do, as so many have learned. The attempt to realize his ambition rise. Thus, the well-known "Open one congress in the last ten years, further down, where a barracks reveal how this festering sore is gone through. Recalcularly the not entirely surest way of being right, and earned him an enforced and pro- Letter" in the middle of 1933 called whereas in the three first years of discipline and not a revolutionary inseparably connected with the suphouse-broken "Leftists", were re- staying where you are, is to nod longed stay in Moscow, was simply for a cut in the apparatus. Eight its existence (the Lenin period) it proletarian discipline is enforced. lentlessly eliminated, or to put it your head solemnly and wisely, kicked out of New York, the center, months later, things were worse held four of them. So in the Am- The initiative, the resourcefulness,

\* \* \*

above?" There should be no secret

\* \* \*

For a Nickel on the Drum You Get

(Just a parenthetic remark to

the readers — Forgive the poetic

headlings. . . . It's the Spring that's

in the air these days). Now to

In this week's A. F. of L. Bulletin

we find Mr. William Green ex-

changing felicitations with the

Salvation Army. Had Mr. Green

taken a few minutes off from feli-

citation exchanging and spoken to

a rank and file member of the A. F.

of L. he might have found out that

the Sall is one of the most distin-

guished recruiting agencies for

strike-breakers in this country.

Needless to say Mr. Green did no

such thing. So we find the notori-

ous Baptist writing to Evangeline

Booth, Commander of the Salvation

among "friends".

the story.

a Strikebreaking Bum



### So You Can't Take It, Mr. Young!

Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, counselled the students of an kind of a united front? Are they to Green. Arkansas college against the fast tempo of modern times. "Recent from below" or are they "the events," he articulated with a benign ahem, "have gone so fast as to get out of hand. Today we do not see great masses of people orderly and intelligently moving upward (bless me Hannah, but what does the dear old gent mean?), but millions of people in every land hanging on in panic to this treadmill of terrific speed, which no one seems able to control."

Oke by us Mr. Young. Why not start this slowness campaign right now. And what a marvellous opportunity for you to revive that good old custom of example setting. Why not slow down the tempo of the General Electric works? Give your men shorter hours, increase their wages and thus insure for them more leisure. What? You say you didn"t mean that at all? Well, well, well.

Is There Any Possible Connection

Department?

On Tuesday of last week the pa- Army: "The well wishes, sympathy pers carried headlines to the effect and support of the A. F. of L. are that the war between Bolivia and extended to you. . . . We will fol-Paraguay had taken on a new fer- low your work with unusual interocity. On Wednesday of the same est and I assure you that we will week, tucked away in a corner of endeavor to give the Salvation one of the most respectable of the Army our continued cooperation morning papers appeared the fol- and support."

lowing item: "The announcement | Leaving Mr. Green for a moment of the international tin committee in the act of "cooperating" with in London of an increase of 40,000 the S.A. we turn to the notorious tons in Bolivia's quota means more and self-advertised strike-breaker than \$15,000,000 in Bolivian reve- par excellence, Mr. P. L. Bergoff. nue. Before the increase Bolivia Turning to strike-breaker Bergoff was exporting 14,000 tons, the rev-1 we find that in his articles for the

cnue permitting her to finance the New York Post he tells how on ers of the Minneapolis truck drivers Chaco war without any extra tax- being stuck for scabs on one occa- strike? Would you like to meet the sion he trotted down to the Salva- delegates to the League convention ation." . . . Get the connection. tion Army and there after a few Friend or Foe-We Want to Know words with the captain in charge coming from all parts of this coun-The Stalinists have squeezed a Mr. Bergoff was given the run of try and Canada and probably Mexnew curl in their peripheral peri the shelter. So splendid was the ico? Would you like to dance with wig. This time it is an organiza- "cooperation" of the S.A. that he us and eat with us and drink with tion known as "The Friends of the was able to enlist over 200 scabs in us at this festive occasion? Of Upturn Hangs Fire

United Front". Now this column is no time at all. Looks like the good course you would. Well-don't tell a stickler for accuracy. We want old double cross or is it double nobody but your best friend and erican business continues to hang wave ahead, possibly to be heraldto know, are they friends of any play? . . . From Bergoff to Booth your best friend's friend that we fire with the depression and stag-

'the friends of the united front \* \* \* Meet the Gang! friends of the united front from Would you like to meet the lead-

Come as guests of the column. -GLEE.

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The oft-heralded upturn in Amare throwing a little shindig at our | nation taking on a prolonged charers. headquarters this Saturday night. acter. It was the concensus of

class militancy. The second of the the same interests were to approach two strike waves that have swept the entire country recently, showed far greater readiness to battle on the part of the proletariat than did former head of the American Lethe first, although the strikes were gion. Undoubtedly the fascists will for the most part failures so far as achieving actual gains for the workers was concerned. Already there are evidences of a third strike ed in by the building trades work-

\* \* \*

## opinion of economists that the Danger of Fascism

What is going on in the minds of business indices down to record the moneyed interests is strikingly revealed by General Smedley Butler. There can be not the slightest tions that the upturn will have to reason for doubting his story,

holiday season at the year's end. public the truth. Butler was ap- Our Task The heavy industries, the durable proached with offers of tremendous goods industries, have failed to financial support by Wall Street show improvement. All the efforts financiers in order to have him to get housing construction going build up a national fascist force less by chance. The situation in in order to create heavy demands for the purpose of establishing a on the basic forces of production fascist dictatorship. MacGuire acted the part of the capitalists to wipe Through the building trades the Colonel Murphy, and for Clark, in- political parties and trade unions. bourgeoisie is preparing a new of- heritor of the Singer Sewing Ma- The vast army of unemployed, confensive against the standards of chine millions. Murphy, who served tinually on the verge of starvation, living of the working class-under with Butler in the army, is an ideal can no longer be fed illusions in the pretext that high labor costs figure to bring together the actual are the obstacle in the way of a drill-sergeants of the forces of middle class cannot be satisfied any

General MacArthur, head of the United States Army, and MacNider, seek close connection with the staff of the army, through whom they

will be able to secure arms and drill masters all the more readily (witness Italy and Germany). It

need not be thought that these public disclosures will deter the bankers and big capitalists from their chosen task. The negotiations with the possible timber for the "man on horseback" will now become all the more secret and hidden from view 

\* \* \*

No worker can fail to realize the significance of the few facts that have thus become known, more or America is ripe for the attempt on as the go-between for his employer out all working class organizations, place of bread. The impoverished bloody reaction and the financial longer with promises. We may United Front of Action against on the list of countries in rate of Sheet and Tube Co., Cuba Cane fascism. It becomes the duty of recovery as measured by indices of Sugar Co., etc. Names to be conevery class conscious worker to industrial activity. Only four na- jured with in the fields of banking help build a new revolutionary tions - Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and business, companies reeking of party, the only force that can de-Austria and Poland-made a poorer reaction and imperialism. It is not feat fascism. The new Workers showing. Not the least factor in difficult to discern, as is barely Party shortly to be launched will pushing the finance capitalists to- hinted in the press, the ominous dedicate itself to this task and deward the road of violent reaction is figure of Morgan just back of Col- serves the support of all workers. the growing evidence of working onel Murphy. Butler reveals that -JACK WEBER.

summer slump which dragged the lows would continue on into the fall. Now there are again predicwait till next spring despite the whatever his motives for making

have not as yet proved effective.

real construction boom.

American bourgeoisie, far from camps. He is connected with an the damagogy of European fascism confident of the future, have imposing list of corporations, among in the attempt of finance capital to reached a stage where they begin them the Foreign Credit Corpora- ensnare the strata of desperate to make up their minds that in tion, United States Distributing workers and petty bourgeoisie in order to save the capitalist system Co., Guarantee Trust Co., Aviation the net of reaction. Hence it beit will be necessary to resort to ex- Corporation, Liberty National comes the duty of the vanguard of treme measures. With utter dismay Bank, Goodyear Tire and Rubber the proletariat to meet the chalthey read in a recent bulletin of the Co., Interborough Rapid Transit lenge of fascism, to intensify its League of Nations that since last Co., New York Transportation Co., effort to establish a working class May the United States is eleventh Bethlehem Steel Co., Youngstown

Under these circumstances the backers, belonging himself to both look forward to the repetition of

### THE MILITANT

## **QUESTION BOX**

### H. D., BRONX-

Question: The draft programatic thesis of the C.L.A. presents as a perspective the possibility that the working class movement in the United States may skip, or very rapidly pass through, the reformist stage. What is the basis for this? In this connection, would you explain the reason for the differences between the working class movement here and in Europe?

call to all working class political

parties and organizations for an

tional Communist League. The

reply to this appeal by the French

Communist Party, proposing our

exclusion as a condition for its

participation, is the subject of

the letter of the International

\* \* \*

consent to your proposal to convene

stitute a united front of struggle

on an international scale on the

condition that the organizations

called "Trotskyists" be excluded.

This reservation cannot but cause

astonishment: on the one hand the

sections of the Comintern declare

on every opportunity that the or-

ganizations of Bolshevik-Leninists

("Trotskyists") are an "insignifi-

cant quantity" On the other hand

the most important section of the

Comintern conditions its participa-

tion in a world congress on the

admission or non-admission of "in-

finitesmal groups" Every conscious

worker will say to himself: Per-

haps their quantity is not so neg-

The reasons that the French sec-

ready to support his government

against the workers' state. All

these facts do not hinder the Stal-

decisive point, that far from being Worker.

Secretariat.—Ed.

Organizations

Dear Comrades.

**REPLY TO THE I.L.P.** 

Copy to All Working Class

Answer: In Europe, at the time of the advent of capitalism as the dominating mode of production and the transformation of the state power to this mode, practically all the land was private property, to which, primarily, is due the sharpness to which class lines were drawn. Only exceptional proletarians could climb out of their class inside the State boundaries. The "surplus" proletariat or the landless sons of farmers who sought a way out could find it only by migrating to the colonies of America, Africa, or Australia, where, by opening new land, mines, etc., the class relationships were renewed. In the "mother" countries, however, the class consciousness brought forth by the relative rigidity of class lines resulted in comparatively large organizations of the proletariat.

In the United States all this "colonization", because of free land, took place within the state boundaries so that class relationships were in a constant flux, blurring the class lines and resulting in small working class organizations.

This entire development occurred while capitalism was in its progressive stage, and at a time when it had the possibilities, with super profits extracted from the colonies, to bribe certain sections of the proletariat, to create an "aristocracy" of labor, upon which reformism bases itself and by means of whom reformism seized both the large European (we exclude Russian) and the small American labor movements.

However, times have changed. The material basis libible. for the blurring of class lines, free land, in the United States no longer exists. (The number of farms in this country which increased from 1,449,073 in 1850 to 6,448,343 in 1920 declined to 6,288,648 by 1930. In 1910, 12,388,309 people, 32.5% of the total, were employed in agriculture. By 1930, these had declined to 10,471,998 or 21.4% of the total.) The Second International, Vandervelde ending of this material basis for the political backwardness of the American worker, corresponds in and Fritz Adler, and the French point of time with the decline of capitalism inter- Stalinists run after Jouhaux for nationally, and, with this decline, the end of the a united front. Vandervelde was conditions which make reformism possible, as Eu- always the opponent of the October Revolution, the official attorney of ropean experience so eloquently testifies.

the terrorists who had attempted This is the "combined" development to which we This is the "combined" development to which we refer and which makes possible not only a rapid to assassinate Lenin and Trotsky. Joubany does not see any principle Spiking a Canard in the Out of C. P. - For New Party Jouhaux does not see any principle tempo of working class development in the country difference between the Soviet govbut a "skipping" over of the stage through which ernment and the capitalist governthe European workers have gone. ments. In practice he is always

To a great extent, of course, this will depend upon the ability of the new party to influence events in a revolutionary direction.

#### S. B., NEW YORK-

turn and until a new order-from Question: Certain Socialists, with whom I discuss, making or seeking a united front claim that the Austrian experience is proof that with these open enemies of the armed insurrection against the capitalist state is Soviet dictatorship. We see that (Stalinist) Party resort against futile. How would you answer this? the only argument advanced by the

Answer: One thing the Austrian experience does Stalinists against sitting at the rotten policies and tactics of splitprove: To attempt almost any struggle, not to speak | same table with the Bolshevik-Len- | ting the working-class is best ilof armed insurrection, against capitalism, under the inists does not hold water. But to lustrated in the "Workers Enemies paralyzing leadership of the Social Democracy, is this must be added, and this is the Exposed" columns in the Daily futile.

Actually, the relationship of forces favored the open or concealed enemies of the Austrian workers according to both Deutsch and Otto Soviet state, we are and will remain truth in the slanderous accusations Bauer. Even if the reaction could count as reliable its most decisive defenders. Our against me, and I would have never all the troops, police, Heimwehr, etc., it could muster international organization and our bothered answering it were it not no more than 60,000 men as against 80,000 Schutz- sections have always eliminated for the fact that that statement bunders. Two thirds of Vienna, 90% of the workers from its ranks those elements who plays into the hands of our worst (i.e. the control of production, transport and com- did not know how to discern under enemies, the Department of Justice. munication), and 40% of the total Austrian popula- the nationally limited and conserv- Furthermore, it gives the officials tion were Social Democratic, to which must be added ative bureaucracy the basis of a of the A. F. of L. justification for the organs of local government of which the party disposed. Had the Austrian Marxist leadership wanted it, the procuring of arms would have been a comparatively simple matter under the circumstances.

## Who Are the Defenders of the U.S.S.R.? The Independent Labor Party The International Secretariat Replies to the of Great Britain has issued a

## Calumnies of the French Stalinists

international united front against the ranks obeys only the commands | march of events and he will know Fascism and war. An invitation from above and pretends to infalli- on whose side the truth rests. It to this conference was sent, among the others, to the Internais this situation that makes it unbility. tional Secretariat of the Interna-

acceptable and impossible for the The Marxist method of the united Stalinist sections to face us before front presupposes the right of every an international proletarian forum. party to give its critical opinion on the attitude of its ally. It is only From the moment when the walls thus, in action, that the masses can of infallibility begin to crack the be educated. The Stalinists, in re- entire Comintern bureaucracy will jecting the most elementary lessons of Marx and Lenin, have connected with the abandonment of reciprocal deeply familiar with their history, our "sham maneuvers" threaten the has to be said not for the purpose of excusing the criticism. This is the only method their mistakes and even their unity of the S.P. and at the same miserable answer of Vandervelde and Adler but to at their disposal to preserve the crimes.

myth of their infallibility and one But whatever the psychological The French Communist Party in must look here for the explanation explanation for their attitude, it is its letter of . . . 1934 has given its of the hatred and their fear of the politicall impermissible. The very "insignificant quantity" of "Trotmeaning of the united front conan International Conference to con- skyists" whom they are very far sists in that one does not demand from neglecting.

Daily Worker

A STATEMENT BY JOSEPH FOX

Workers in the Food Industry:

The stool-pigeon tactics to which

the leaders of the Communist

workers who disagree with their

There was not one single iota of

ON HIS RESIGNATION FROM

THE C.P.U.S.A.

inists in the least-since their last | To the Comrades in the C. P. and

from his allies a preliminary reco-For eleven years we followed gnition of ideas and opinions which step by step the entire policy of they do not hold. If the "Trotskyists" are the open enemies of the the Comintern. Whether it concerned the pretended "workers and U.S.S.R., this should inevitably appeasants" parties for the Orient, pear in common action and we will the Chinese revolution with the thus discredit ourselves in the eyes subordination of the proletariat to of the proletarian vanguard. If the Stalinists truly believe in what the bourgeois party of the Kuo Min Tang, the Anglo-Russian Commit- they advance they should welcome tee, the attitude of the Polish Com- our appearance beside them in an munist party which supported Pil- international working class forum. sudsky's coup d'etat in 1926, the But no, they are far from taking policy of the third period with its this road, and they are right, not adventurist ravages, the theory and as a revolutionary organization but practice of social fascism which as a conservative bureaucracy: led to the catastrophe in Germany, open and candid discussion will the same policy in Austria and leave not a trace of the prestige of Spain where it condemned to im- | infallibility.

potence the sections of the Comin-The international proletarian tion of the Comintern give for their tern, finally the present policy of vanguard has the greatest interest attitude is that we, Bolshevik-Lenthe French Communist Party which in hearing a clear opinion on inists, are "open enemies" of the U.S.S.R. A stupefying reason! The militia-in all these decisive ques- opment of the world revolution de-Comintern is in united front negotions and in many other important pends in great part. Abusing the tiations with the leaders of the cases we have always counterposed prestige of the workers' state, the Marxist policy to the Stalinist which we are the first to recognize policy and predicted the fatal con- and to support, and wasting its sequences of the latter. Let every practically inexhaustible material, conscious worker compare our pro- the apparatus of the Comintern posals and our prognoses with the blocks the road to all revolutionary

education, which can only be inculcated by free criticism in an atmosphere of loyalty.

We would seek in vain this loyalty in the attitude of the Stalinists, even after their last turn. Only yesterday they declared that the French Socialist party was the twin brother of fascism and the I.L.P. left social fascist. Today they denounce our French friends who joined the S.F.I.O. in order there obtaining a refusal. to work loyally on the basis of fall to pieces. That is why the as the wreckers of the socialist Stalinists carefully avoid contact party. They "fraternally" warn

lackeys of Leon Blum and by that fact of Doumergue, and so on.

We believe that even the organthe Bolshevik-Leninist conceptions with every ounce of energy the prehe workers' world under the revolver of an ultimatum and poisonation.

The proletarian vanguard always and especially now after the terrible defeats needs revolutionary clarity. We are far from contesting the right of the Stalinists, even

special caste above the plebian pro-

letarians and above all they should an armed uprising against the bonapartist, or fascist use arguments and not insults. In reaction, we find the left socialists, with its progresthe name of all our sections, which sive side and also its defects in a predominant role, opposes the creation of the workers' this question, on which the devel- grow in influence and in number in leads us to pose the question: What has happened nearly all the countries of the to the international appointed to lead the revolutionworld, we declare ourselves ready ary struggles of the proletariat, the Third Internato face the Stalinists and their actional?

cusations before any national or international forum. -The International Secretariat of League (Bolshevik-Leninists)

the International Communist revolution.

The influence of the new party | of Polish Fascism; the miserable movement, taking form in the theory of the united front from beapproaching fusion of the A.W.P. low and social fascism were reand the C.L.A., is being felt in sponsible in great measure in deall sections and tendencies of the feating the working class of Gerlabor movement. Even the casehardened, bureaucratic cell that o power. is the Communist party is begin-

from the party membership.

We find from our experience that them than the big socialist party. What were the directives of the C. I. in preparathe Communist Party is controlled tion for the insurrection? They try to pick a quarrel by a bureaucratic clique who expel all members who dare question its with Largo Caballero. They reproach this ex-reforpolicies. The minute we raised our | mist with neglecting the struggle for "partial" devoice, protesting against some of mands. To abandon them, they say, means "to rethe policies of the party, we were treat before the enemy" promptly labeled "counter-revolu-

"The continual capitulation of the Austrians before fascism consisted precisely in that", in other tionary Trotskyites" and isolated words, in a revolutionary period one must be careful to be more reformist than the reformists. Because the party members are

On the other hand they abstractly pose the slogan stifled by this bureaucratic apparof soviets, while they ignore the workers alliance as atus and the party is therefore unable to learn from its past mistakes the organ of struggle, as the possible embryo of the and to correct these mistakes, we organs of power. The Stalinists must baptise every came to the conclusion that the mass committee as soviet, and no matter what hapdownfall of the German Communist pens they continue to shout "Soviets Everywhere". In this connection let us recall the appreciation of Party without a struggle spelled

THE L.S.I.-C.I. NEGOTIATIONS The Events in Spain and the Fourth International.

We are constrained to note that the L.S.I. (Second International) and the C. I. continue to view the question of the united front on an international scale not as a matter of revolutionary action but as a game of hide-and-seek and political alibis.

This time the C. 1. has the edge, having addressed a letter to the Bureau of the L.S.I. it succeeded in

Previous'y the Comintern was opposed to every their principles and their methods international proposition of the L.S.I. and favored common action of national sections only.

Today the L.S.I. prefers the national united front. with an organization which is Leon Blum and Paul Faure that It has been taken in by the Stalinist maneuver. This time in the official publications of understand the full significance of these negotiations. the Comintern they denounce us as They have nothing in common with revolutionary internationalism.

Insofar as the real existence of the Second International is concerned there are few illusions remainizations which are quite hostile to ing in the left wing of French socialism. The comrades of Bataille (Battle, organ of left wing in have the supreme duty of refuting French S. P.) recognize the necessity of a new international, but label us as sectarians or superstitension of the Stalinists of putting tions people because we cling to the number four. The number is of little importance, says la Bataille. We fear that it is not merely an arithmetical difing the atmosphere of the united ference. When we say Fourth International we mean front by slanders and dishonest in- by an international whose platform will assimilate trigues instead of assisting it by the positive and negative experience of the Second frank criticism and loyal collabor-] and Third Internationals. Not a balance sheet of mistakes but a guide to action on solid foundations.

ternationalism" is always limited to a warm ex-

directly opposite directions can only exist on paper.

But this very fact, that wherever there has been

ternationalism, theatrical proclamations after the battle, or the tearful hypocrisies of a Cachin on the dilatory response of the L.S.I.

tional we are given a very clear answer on this question.

It really appears that the C. I. understood that the struggle of the Spanish proletariat would lead it to the brink of insurrection. The International speaks many and facilitating Hitler's rise abstractly of these eventualities and declares that the small communist party is better prepared for

## For this we have no faith in the L.S.I. Their "in-

change of telegrams. An international consisting of elements evolving in

the bureaucrats, to participate in While the Dutch social democrats rally to reactioncommon actions, but they should ary positions the old ministers of the Spanish bourstop considering themselves as a geois republic lead the armed insurrection.

We have heard it said that the C. I. played a "leading role" in the Spanish events. However, every militant must avoid taking as revolutionary in-

What must be taken into account is the policy of

the C.I. for preparation and support of the Spanish In the September issue of the Communist Interna-

## WORLD OF LABOR

Why was this immeasurably superior force defeated? It was betraved. The enemy was systematically presented with the best political and material positions by the leadership of the Social Democracy,<sup>3</sup>who placed their faith not in the masses but in Dollfuss and Miklas.

One could go into great detail to prove our point but let the following statement of Otto Bauer himself suffice: "We could have answered that (the dispersion of the Parliament in 1933.-Ed.) on March 15 with the general strike. Never were the conditions for a successful strike so favorable as on that day. permitted any of its members at for three and a half months in jail, . . . The working masses awaited the signal to fight. ... The military organization of the government was far weaker than in February 1934. At that time we might have triumphed." (See the Review of Otto have been able to commit any mis- livelihood and the strengthening of Bauer's and Deutsch's pamphlets in the New International of July 1934 for further facts )

The Austrian experience also proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is impossible for the proceives 51% of the votes. Armed insurrection is not only necessary but inevitable, if the working class is not to go down in defeat. The Austrian events showed that not the armed insurrection-without which there can be no hope of the workers taking power-but the mealy-mouthed, treacherous leadership of Austro-Marxism was futile and disastrous for the proletariat.

JOINT DANCE Saturday, Dec. 15th 9 p.m. Entertainment - Music **IRVING PLAZA** Irving Plaza and 15th Street :: 40c At Door. Admission Tickets 30c. Auspices: Communist League of America and American Workers Party. November New International Out

The November issue of the New International is just off the press! Get your copy early. The October issue was completely sold out. Among the contents in this issue are letters from Marx, Trotsky and Rakovsky on Russia, a letter from Spain, an article

on the Negro question, book reviews, archive material' etc., etc., etc. 15c per copy; \$1.50 a year; \$1 for seven issues.

orkers' state, which aided by the my expulsion, gives them ample international revolution, can and reasons to refuse my reinstatement should develop victoriously towards into the local, and helps the bosses the building of the socialist society. to spread the blacklist against me, Our real crime-and this is the thus depriving me of the possibility only one-is that we always dis- of earning my bread and butter. I resigned from the Communist tinguish and teach the workers to distinguish between the bureaucra- Party because I am in total discy, which, thriving on the defeats agreement with its trade union of the world proletariat, has be- policies and tactics, particularly come an enormous tumor on the with the policies the leadership of body of the Soviet state, and the the Food Workers Industrial Union.

They advised and ordered me to workers' state itself. The bureaucracy of the Comin- carry out a line in Local 302 of the tern not only has never wanted to A. F. of L. which resulted in imadmit this distinction, but has never prisonment of myself and five others any time during the last eleven expulsion of myself and 12 other years to raise the least supposition oppositionists from the A. F. of L., that the Soviet bureaucracy could the loss of our jobs and means of takes. Our crime consists also in the racketeering officials in the that, always remaining defenders local to a position of absolute dicof the U.S.S.R., as a workers' state, tatorial power.

Today the leadership of the "Inwe did not share the Stalinist dogletariat to come to power by parliamentary means. ma of the infallibility of the Soviet dustrial Union" are in league with Fascism will strangle the proletariat before it re- bureaucracy, which has detached the worst strike-breakers and rackitself from control by the masses in eteering officials in Local 302 and order to submit itself to a com- work hand in glove with them. pletely personal regime. We do I have demanded to know on not want to insist on the fact, al- many occasions from the leaders of though it is incontestable, that the Industrial Union, why they did everything that has been progres- not even in a single instance raise sive in the activity of the Soviet the question of our reenstatement bureaucracy (industrialization, col- into Local 302, and their replies

lectivization, five-year plan) was were tantamount to a direct refuborrowed, later to be bureaucrati- sal.

I have in my possession a letter cally deformed, from the ideas and the program of the Bolshevik-Len- dated June 11, 1934 and signed by inists. Every conscious worker the Secretary of the Food Workers can verify this by looking at the Industrial Union addressed to

documents, at the deeds, year by "Dear Comrade Fox" wherein, year, month by month. amongst other things, he states that "I would therefore like to talk But what matters especially and

what concerns the international matters over with you as to what we could do in order to rectify conference is to emphasize that the principle of infallibilty of the Sovsome of our previous mistaker made"! This flings the ugly word iet leaders is necessary for the Comintern and its sections in order "liar" into the faces of the stool-

pigeons in the C.P. who are responbetter to pretend their own infalsible for issuing the "expose" libility. You know, as we do, that against me in the Daily Worker. internal criticism no longer exists

in the Stalinist organizations. The I have issued a signed statement most improbable turns are ordered to my unit on the night of my re- in the A. F. of L. with whom I by telegraph and often by telesignation (four months ago) in phone. The renunciation of the which I explained my disagree- sitionist in Local 302 and they are

ments with the political line foltheory of the third period, of social lowed by the C. P and C. I. and to a statement about my revolufascism, and also the turn on the which Section No. 5, according to tionary character and loyalty to united front, are indisputably proall indications, has suppressed to the interests of the working class. gressive steps But every conscious worker can and should say to him- this very day. The comrades in my unit have self that tomorrow these reforms

Communist workers put a stop to can be changed just as unexpected had only the highest regard and such open stool-pigeon tactics of ly by counter reforms, since the esteem for me, and up to date are the leadership of the C.P. bureaucracy freed from control by still on the most friendly terms

the rotten inner regime and the fatal policies of Stalinism.—Ed. \* \* \* Nov. 20, 1934 Dear Comrades:

ning to stir. Several weeks ago

a leading Negro militant of the

Philadelphia district of the C. P.

joined our ranks. Last week we

published the statements of two

outstanding New York trade un-

ionists placing the cross on their

connections with Stalinism. Be-

low is a declaration of two rank

and file C. P. members declaring

for the Fourth International and

calling on other Communist party

members to follow their example.

We are certain, that as the new

party gains in force their ex-

ample will be followed not by in-

dividuals but by tens and hun-

We the undersigned members of new International. the Communst Party realize now As honest revolutionists, our nist Parties of the world, arising to the world revolution above party out of Stalin's theory of building loyalty and join the ranks of those socialism in one country, have who are fighting for new revolubrought only defeat to the working tionary parties and a new, a Fourth class and have converted the Third | International. Such a party is now International into a reactionary being launched by the fusion of the force in the working class move-Communist League of America and ment. Stalin's theory of the four the American Workers Party. We class party in China resulted in a feel that it is our revolutionary

direct betrayal of the Chinese pro- duty to join the ranks of this party of the Polish Communist Party, to follow our example. called upon the Polish workers to support Pilsudski and played into the hands of the reactionary forces

Lawrence Dennis, the fascist was scheduled to speak at the Universalist Church. On the same platform. Kingdon of the Socialist Party, on the invitation of the right Rev. Garner, was going to "refute" the Fascist's arguments. real, two-fisted fighting young The Y.P.S.L.-Y.C.L. united front workers, who don't take no gaff made arrangements to picket the from nobody; neither the Stalin- church.

-S. GREENBERG

I. GREENBERG

Unit 2015.

Our young Spartacans, slandered ists, the Socialists, the police, nor by the Stalinists, excluded by the Y.P.S.L. Y.C.L. united front, broke After our Spartacans initiated a through these obstacles, came down united front against fascism, they thirty strong with their banners were quietly ducked by the Young and flags-the largest single dele-People's Socialist League who gation on the picket line; fought shamefully capitulated to the ultithe police the hardest, and revealed matum of the Young Stalinists: their true colors, in action, to the "United either with them or with workers of Newark.

They are now going ahead with They realize that the plans to inform the Young People's failures in the unit are due to the Socialist League of the action taken stupid policies that they are forced by their organization and will write I have spoken to many workers a letter of protest to the Essex

Young People's Socialist League. worked as a class conscious oppo-WANTED ever ready to attest their signatures

The Convention Arrangements Committee wants the services of eight League or Spartacus Youth It is high time that the honest members throughout the conventions, to help in the kitchen. Report to Rose Karnser at the National Office.

dreds of workers disgusted with the death of the Third Internation- L'Humanite for July 3rd, 1934 on this workers al al as a revolutionary force, just as liance, printed in bold face: it concerns itself with August 4th, 1914, revealed the the tasks of the Catalonian C. P.

"It is also necessary for it," said Peri, "to debankruptcy of the Second Internanounce the pretentious Workers Alliance of Catalonia. tional and the necessity of building new revolutionary parties and a a bloc of renegades from the party, of Trotskyists, anarchists, social fascists who fraudulently cloak themselves in the mantle of unity, but in reality supthat the mistakes of the Commu- duty dictates that we place loyalty port the policy of the Generalidad."

Besides this there is nothing in the article of the Communist International which allows us to believe that the "revolutionary leadership" prepared the masses for the general strike and the armed insurrection. Nothing specific on the necessity of building the fighting organizations, the militia. Not a slogan on the arming of the workers. All that is left to the tender mercies of Largo Caballero and Prieto. The lessons of October are transformed into abstract and pedantic propaganda. It is no longer part letariat; Warski, the official leader and urge all our fellow Communists of the life of the Third International.

In these conditions, the necessity for a new revolutionary International, the Fourth International, becomes obvious. By its evolution towards revolutionary positions the left wing socialists are passing over the abstract ballyhoo of the Stalinists. It is our duty to accelerate this evolution by a firm and intransigeant struggle for the principles of Leninism. Then the "Road of October" will no longer be a mere phrase for reviews of the epigones,

-La Verite, Nov. 2, 1934.

"REPUBLICAN MILITIA" MARCHES IN CHILE The rising wave of Fascism, that sweeps through Europe, reaches South America also. A Fascist movement is developing in Chile under the protecting wing of the "liberal" Alessandri regime. The recent march in Santiago de Chile of several thousand members of the "Republican Militia" was a demonstration of force by the blackest reactionary elements of that country and a direct threat to he Chilean proletariat. The Chilean Communist Left, conscious of its role as the workers' vanguard, took the initiative in building up a serious united front movement that included the Socialist party and numerous trade unions, for the carrying on of an active struggle against the Fascist menace. A general strike and counter demonstration were called by our comrades. A number of the factories in and about the city were tied up as was also a large part of the construction industry. The local Stalinists contributed their share by impeding the spread of the general strike to the more basic industries.





anybody else.

with me.

to carry out.

Our young Spartacan group in Newark has shown this week that it is an organization composed of

-JOSEPH FOX,

## NewarkAnti-NaziProtest Split by Stalinists, YPSL

On Sunday night, Nov. 18, Law-1 gans "For the United Front of all rence Dennis, fascist, came to the Working Class Organizations" and Universalist Church in Newark to "No Platforms for Fascists" echoed ed States. It remained for the Policy, the sharpest right turn ever speak on the "Coming Fascism". About 150 were in the mass picket a Spartacist was manled by a cop, New York Times, to feature the line to protest his speaking, a dem- Y.C.L.ers and Yipsels shouted onstration called by a united front "Hold your ground, Leo". After revolutionary character of the 17th as a hundred thousand blackshirts between the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. the mass picketing an anti-fascist However, the organization that set rally was held in a nearby hall. on foot the united front in Newark Our delegate asked the chairman was not long before November 7 ground. In Germany the revoluand played a militant part in the for one of our speakers to be al- that Karl Radek's interview with tionary tide was ebbing. picket line was excluded from the lowed the floor. He spoke about the Post correspondent, in which united front negotiations. Follow- expenses. We agreed to share it. he spoke like a labor faker about ing is a factual account of the unit- We were refused a speaker, and our the hopelessness of the revolutioned front negotiations and of the banners were removed from the demonstration Sunday night, and of front of the room. The Wobblies, the part the excluded Spartacus incensed at the exclusion of what Youth League played throughout. they termed the "militant pickets",

Sept. 15.-Spartacus Youth League wanted to start a demand for an (S.Y.L.) delegates in a discussion S.Y.L. speaker from the floor. Howwith two E.C. members of the Y.P. ever, we did not want a recurrence S.L. on the united front, proposed of the Madison Square riot. The a joint letter of Y.P.S.L. and S.Y.L. Wobblies went outside and in a to the Y.C.L. asking the latter to street meeting condemned strongly participate in a united front on the splitting tactics of the C.P. The specific issues. They were invited I.W.W., A.W.P., Lovestoneites and to discuss the matter before the the C.L.A. publicly condemned the next E.C. meeting of the Y.P.S.L. sectarian exclusion of the S.Y.L.

Oct. 2.--At Y.P.S.L. E.C. meeting from the demonstration. our delegates repeated the proposal, ark and drill often. They are armed. stressing the necessity of a broad united front of all working class New broad united fronts must be organizations, especially as in New- created. A "United Workers Guard" ark there was a strong fascist youth is on the order of the day, which movement. The E.C. voted to send must be representative of all labor a letter to their N.C. to ask author. | organizations. We call upon all ity to send the joint letter with the workers everywhere: Against sec-S.Y.L. to the Y.C.L. for the purpose tarianism! For the united front of of effecting the united front in all working class organizations! Newark. The N.C. gave them this authority. (They voted to send a joint letter with the S.Y.L.)

PAGE 4

Nov. 8.-The S.Y.L. received a communication stating "We realize that the S.Y.L. is anxious to bring about a united front, and we extend to you the hand of comradeship", inviting us to send delegates to a united front conference at their headquarters (Y.P.S.L. on Nov. 11. the Spartacus Youth League, to be The Y.C.L. was invited through a similar letter.

Nov. 11 .- The Y.C.L. sent no official delegate to the conference because the "Trotskyites" were invited. Karlson, Y.C.L. organizer, delphia, New Haven, Toronto, Canappeared however, to present their ada, Chicago and New York. Fraviewpoint to the Yipsels. His main ternal delegates are expected from arguments were that we were insignificent and we should prove our revolutionary sincerity by not opposing something so important as ed out that something insignificant tacus and the beginning of our the Stalinist curtesy to the ruling could not prevent something as im- youth movement. On the basis of bourgeoisies of the world, the less tion in Russia." portant as the united front. Fur- the experience accumulated and the thought of, and the less beckoned ther, that in the last two years they forces assembled in this period the to, is the world proletariat. Arithhad entered five united fronts with Spartacus Youth are now ready to metical proletarian revolution along us in New York alone, and that as go forward to greater deeds. sincere revolutionaries it was our duty to determinedly fight for a sleeping quarters and feeding of of Nations!) express revisionism broad united front including all delegates. All friends able to working class organizations, as house a delegate, contribute food against the sectarian united front policy of the Y.C.L. More, that the Karsner, 144 Second Avenue, New national policy as stated by the Y.P.S.L. N.C. is: "All subdivisions are instructed to refuse to agree to clude reports on all the draft resoany arrangements which barred

any group from the united front that is willing to cooperate in support of the joint program." Obvi- and election of a new national comously, the national policies of the mittee. Y.P.S.L. and S.Y.L. are directly op-



One aspect of the recent celebra- the ashes of civil war. Cities lay further revolutionary struggle. No anniversary.

It will be remembered that it The American C. P. was underary movement in bourgeois America, gave the cue of Soviet pacifism to the bourgeois correspondents in Moscow.

Neither Radek's statements to the Post, nor the Denny dispatches on the celebration, have elicited a counter statement from Stalinist quarters. Lest it be thought that the bour-

politics, turn to the New Masses of November 13, 1934, and find buried in the editorial paragraphs their only comments on the anniversary of the Revolution:

**Consolation in Figures** 

"The most gratifying way we know of celebrating a Soviet anni-Soviet graphs and figures. No oraconvey the grandeur of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction as can the simple matter of fact statements of Soviet arithmetic.'

Spartacus Youth

Convention to this again, the triumphs in international relations during the Frisco and Los Angeles delegates past twelve months, and you have to the first national convention of a record of achievements unparalleled even in the unparalleled hisheld in New York City beginning tory of the Soviets."

December 3, are already on their way. In addition, delegates are expected from Minneapolis, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Newark, Philafor the belladonna of sharp criticism. such cities as Detroit and Columbus, Ohio.

-ARNE COLTS.

The Fascists are strong in New-

coincide with the third anniversary | the Soviet Union grows in mechan-

with a vengeance. Several early anniversaries could or money should write to: Rose be cited to show the contrast between Leninist and Stalinist birth-York City.

The convention agenda will inlutions-covering every important phase of youth work, the planned fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P.

Most of the branches of the S.Y

tion of October in Moscow has in ruins, the population was poor messages were sent to the bereaved been insufficiently dwelt upon by and exhausted, necessitating the the revolutionary press in the Unit- introduction of the New Economic up and down the picket line. When bourgeois press, particularly the made in Soviet internal policy. On November 1, 1922, Mussolini quiescent, non-international, non- was received by the King in Rome were given the key to the capital.

**Celebrating October Under NEP** And in Moscow preparations were made to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Revolution. by the assembling of the 4th World Congress of the Communist Inter-

national. That is the significant difference between the two anniversaries-1922 and 1934. Charles Ashleigh, writing in the Communist Review (England) of January, 1923, describes the open-

ing celebration of the Communist geois press is slandering Soviet International in Petrograd. Two and Japanese imperialism, as if, special trains carried the delegates since the Soviet Union has been to the Communist Congress, the recognized by the United States, tions by drawing into his vest-Congress of the Red International admitted into the League of Na- pocket "American Scottsboro Com-Labor Union and the Congress of tions and has formed close diplothe Young Communist Internation-| matic ties with other countries, a

nalists, from Moscow to Petrograd. exuberant attacks on capitalism. There "in the gigantic Uritsky

versary is a careful perusal of Square a stand had been erected for the delegates. We took our tory, no rhetoric, no poetry can places, and the march past began. "They came in at one end of the square, marched past the stand, and left at the other end. We stood there, our hats in our hands, receiving the greetings of the Petro-

After citing many really heart- grad proletariat who had come out, ening figures the Stalinist sage con- on their national revolutionary antinues: "Add to this the tremendous | niversary, to salute their comrades gains in the realm of culture; and of the Communist International.

"They passed on and on for hours. And their faces were raised towards us as they passed and ever they cheered. And we cheered back.'

Then the Communist Internation-The Daily Worker simply prints al received the salute of the Red its own description, which ignores Army.

the political angle, while singing a C. I. and Soviets in Joint Session lyric to "Socialism". Such doping On the evening of the celebraof the American proletariat calls tion, the Communist International and the Petrograd Soviet sat in

joint session. Thus, "in the midst **Revisionism** with a Vengeance of unexampled enthusiasm on the No one is surprised at these part of the masses of Petrograd The first national convention will things any longer. Each year as and Moscow, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International a united front. Our speaker point- of the publication of Young Spar- ical strength, the more graceful is began its work on the Fifth Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolu-(Communist Review. March. 1923.)

Many revolutionary leaders came to greet the Fourth Congress-and with faith in "the triumphs in in- to aid in its deliberations. Lenin Provisions are being made for ternational relations" (the League explained the New Economic Poli- men in the Soviet press and in the cy. Trotsky warned of the right danger of social pacifism in the

Communist International. Today what a difference! Would anyone have dared in

days. But, to compare the fairest 1922 to predict the conditions of historical example, let us go back to the fifth anniversary. himself could then have faced the Twelve years ago the Soviet Un- logic which flowed inexorably from fatalism: the wish fulfillment of ion was just raising itself out of the position he has always held.

**Strike Slams** 

Robinson

the College.

Last week a million men went through Red Square while the world proletariat writhed in defeats. No Congress of the Communist International was assembled to cheer, or to be heartened for

martyrs of Germany, Austria and Spain. Instead Franklin D. Roosevelt was sending his greetings to Kalinin. In New York "in the comfortable patrician atmosphere of the east Sixties, Leonid N. Tolonsky, Consul General of the Union of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republic, celebrated "with canapes

and cakes". That is diplomacy. But what was happening in Moscow?

Under the Cloud of Reaction

"Gone was most of the truculence of other years. The old appeals to the proletariat of other lands to hurl down capitalism were almost entirely lacking from the banners and the proclamations and speeches of the leaders. The lampooning of individual capitalist of campaign which Leibowitz is

countries in the effigies carried by to mild take-offs on German fascism tion with such elements. mittee" leading members of the Socialist Party. We are told that al, party workers and labor jour- ban had been placed against overly one Socialist flatly refused to go in because he got a sniff of Easley in

the offing. This does honor to him "Emphasis on Soviet Defense

"The emphasis today was on the internal upbuilding of the country and on defense against attacks irom without. On the front of the old 'traders row,' across the square from the Kremlin, enormous red flags were inscribed simply, 'Workhaved in it, how the I.L.D. behaved ers of the World, Unite', in a half to him, and what the prospects dozen languages, including English. "Today provided a visible demonposition to give more concrete data stration of the new attitude toward

the capitalistic world that has recently been becoming more and more apparent in Moscow. This is that world revolution will come but not in the way that was foreseen when bolshevism first entrenched itself here.

I.L.D., propose to retain Samuel S. "The new conception is that if Leibowitz, noted defender of gangwar should break out between the sters, for new trials of Heywood Soviet Union and capitalist coun-Paterson and Clarence Norris, Natries it would be on the initiative tional Executive of I.L.D., against of the latter and that war for which opposition of the I.L.D. National the capitalist world seems to be Bureau, instructs Patterson to refeverishly preparing will result in tain Leibowitz, only if the latter the downfall of capitalist regimes agrees to limit himself to discussion and in the victory of the proletariat of legal and factual questions, to that had been expected to follow make no attacks on the view that the World War. And so the role of the case has general social significommunism would be not that of cance, to make no concessions to capitalism's executioner-for capi-Southern Bourbon anti-Negro attialism would commit suicide-but of its grave-digger.

efforts to win militant mass support "This was the theme of today's for the boys. celebration as evidenced in articles Jan 7.-On orders from Browder, by leading Communist party spokes-Patterson and the I.L.D. National Bureau flout the N.E.C. instructions anniversary declaration by the exand retain Leibowitz unconditionecutive committee of the Commually, giving him a free hand to exnist International. (N. Y. Times press opposition to the views and Nov. 8.) activities of all militant enemies of

Capitalism would commit suicide! Southern white chauvinism Did not the bourgeois correspondthe 17th anniversary? Not Stalin | ent guess well?

Socialism in one country?

Jan. 9 .- Leibowitz writes I.L.D. Is that not the kernel of Stalinist



**Easley Plots Against Boys;** I. L. D. Role Revealed

ments

## (Continued from Page 1)

. . but Easley is far from being

Some weeks ago, the Militant

printed a general characterization

of how the I.L.D. brought Sam

Leibowitz into the case, how he be-

were. The Militant is now in a

on the secret history of the rela-

tions of the IL.D. to Sam Leibo-

witz. The following chronological

Jan. 1933.-Earl Browder, Secre-

tary of the Communist Party and

W. L. Patterson, Secretary of the

account stands on its own feet:

the only thing wrong with the Lei-

bowitz set-up.

campaign of abuse and slander of her go back to the false yarn she those who proposed criticizing Leiwas induced to tell at the first bowitz. I.L.D. refuses to ask capitrial. This is only one of a dozen talist press to print criticisms of miserable schemes now being con-Leibowitz, vigorously defends Leibcocted behind the scenes, while the owitz in article in the Daily Work-I.L.D. and Samuel S. Leibowitz er, and denounces the Militant for contest each other's right to reprecriticizing Leibowitz and the I.L. sent the boys in court. The worst of all is a rotten deal between Lei-

D.'s deal with him. April 28,-Wm. L. Patterson inbowitz and the State of Alabama! duces packed meeting of the N.C.D. P.P. to refuse vote of confidence to The Militant is in a position to state authoritatively while the de-Executive which unanimously asked tails of Mr. Leibowitz's arrangecriticism of Leibowitz. C.P. facments are still secret, they have tionalists denounce critics of Leibthe aid and blessing of none other owitz as sabotagers, white chauvinthan Ralph Easley of the National ists, aids to lynchers, counter-rev-Civic Federation, perhaps the most olutionaries and Trotskyites. Frank vicious, bloodthirsty and unscrupu-Spector, I.L.D. national organizer, lous red-hunter and reactionary in who endorsed the April 7 resolution the entire United States! 'The sort joins in denouncing those who wrote it.

soon going to loose upon the world May 8.—Ten members of the N.C. workers' delegations was reduced is clearly indicated by his associa- D.P.P. (including half a dozen members of its Executive and three We understand that Leibowitz of the N.E.C. of the I.L.D.) resign has endeavored to cover his intenon the ground that their work has been made impossible by the Stalin-

ists' attacks. "Fearing to harm defense movement", they suppress their letter of resignation. Communist League of America alone continues to expose Leibowitz's rotten opportunism.

Stalinist faction begins

Oct. 1933 .-- Leibowitz uses Scottsboro prestige to aid Mayor McKee's campaign in Harlem; I.L.D., backing Communist Party ticket, makes first genuine attack on Leibowitznot for his Scottsboro policy, but because he is still a Democrat!

Oct. 1934 .--- I.L.D. attorneys arrested in Tennessee, charged with attempted bribery of Scottsboro case witness. Leibowitz seizes this occasion to break with I.L.D., repeating his customary attacks on mass movements and radicals, and his customary praise of white chauvinism and Bourbonism. "Surprised" and "disappointed", the I. L.D. denonnces Leibowitz as a traitor, and sharply attacks him for expression of views it long ago gave him full permission to express. Leibowitz orders I.L.D. out of case. affirming he is retained by all boys. Nov. 1934.-I.L.D. and Leibowitz dispute right to represent boys in next trials. Boys, in desperation, shift allegiance from one worthless "ally" to another several times. Mass defense movement almost dead. Leibowitz continues fulminations against "Reds", and eulogies of patriotism and Southern white tudes, and to offer no opposition to justice. Wins support of our reactionary Negro parsons and one Harlem Department Store publicity agent who makes money out of Scottshoro Sales, and makes deal with Alabama prosecutor to eliminate death sentences in return for a smashing court-room attack by prosecution and "defense" on all "radicals" and a hymn to patriot-

ism and "the ancient shrines" Dec. 1934. — WILL A NEW MOVEMENT BE LAUNCHED TO RETRIEVE THE HORRIBLE MESS PERPETRATED BY THE I.L.D. AND SAMUEL S. LEIBO-WITZ? IT IS UP TO THE OR-GANIZATIONS OF THE WORKthe I.L.D. "match" the following ING CLASS IN THE FIRST IN-STANCE TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION.



Y.P.S.L. delegate stated that they time. were considering a state-wide united front and that the S.Y.L. would automatically be excluded from the first negotiations, as they are not a state organization, but that the Y.P.S.L. would insist on their inclusion in the united front. This latter would apply locally, that is, to Newark. The meeting broke up

formed on the same day on a local ject this recommendation. Subsescale between Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. against the speaking of the Fascist sate he received only a handful of Dennis. We knew nothing about this until Thursday night. On Thursday a joint leaflet appeared on the streets (of Y.C.L. and Y.P. S.L.) calling for a demonstration to stop the Fascist Dennis from speaking. Thursday night an S.Y.L. delegate approached two members of the joint committee for the demonstration asking to be included in it. The Y.C.L. refused, saying we would have to march under their banners as individuals; the old "United Front from Below" again! Friday night a special meeting of the S.Y.L. decided to participate in the demonstration under their own banners. On the night of the demonstration a picket line of about

THE MILITANT

150 marched, about forty of whom

were under our banners. Our slo-

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144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD

Max Shachtman Maurice Spector duction on the stagger plan with Mussolini himself. The student Arne Swabeck.

Bundle rates two cents per copy. Subscription rate: \$1.00 per copy. mand wages on which men who commonplace; and the mildest par- tor meets every Monday night. The 50c per half year -- Canada and work can at least maintain a de- lor pinks were cross-examined by class in ABC of Marxism every Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for cent standard and not starve.

posed to the national policy of ex- L. have had intensive discussions cluding certain organizations from of the draft resolutions. In fact the united front, the latter being discussion on the basic problems of the program of the Y.C.L. Karlson the revolutionary youth movement stated that the Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. has been taking place for over a both had their national policies year in the ranks of Spartacus and that there would be no united Youth on the basis of the draft front if we were included, at least resolutions on youth work sent out with the Y.C.L. participating. A by the national committee at that

## Weavers Set Strike Deadline

(Continued from Page 1) the reinstatement of 21 expelled Keller, be elected delegate to the here, and the S.Y.L. delegates left. convention. A motion was made students, to demand the reinstate-After we left a united front was and overwhelmingly carried to rement of the suppressed Student Council, and above all to demand the immediate and unconditional quently when Keller ran for deleremoval of Dr. Robinson, sometimes known as "Fascist Freddy' votes.

Robinson. In the face of the determined resistance and unbroken ranks of the striking dye workers, the bosses

found that their trump card, the delegation of Italian Fascist stu- cious resemblance to Signor Musresort to open force-was just a dents by Dr. Robinson several solini. The two faced monster was NOT A DYE PLANT IS weeks ago. At that time the stu- burned with the approval of all deuce. COVERED BY THE STRIKE. And masse, packed the reception hall, the Funeral March. not a plant will continue to operate and turned the reception into a heated protest against the Fascist until the bosses meet the workers' demands. So now the bosses are toadies of bloody Mussolini. again resorting to "talking with the An Honor to Be a "Gutter-Snipe" movements all over the country, is workers". And the yellow press is again yowling that the strike will

end "this week". Not on your students for their "discourtesy" terms, gentlemen. A monster parade was held last gracious to that dear, sweet man, week in Passaic. This week another B. Mussolini!) and labeled the prowill be held in Paterson, despite all

the obstacles the bosses are trying day the "gutter-snipes" faction has to put up. The ranks of the silk grown by leaps and bounds as the workers are not to be confused or students rally to the anti-fascist disorganized this time. Whether Entered as a second class mail the bosses like it or no, whether fair to be the only non-gutter-snipe Keller is sad or glad, this time the left.

issues are going to be faced and fought squarely-Paterson and the entire silk industry demand a

UNION SHOP-and not a piece of

discrimination against all militant council, elected by popular vote,

an administration "red squad". Friday night.

N. Y. Student Students Expelled A movement to oust Dr. Robinson was initiated, and met with wide approval. While the squelch-Dr. Robinson movement was getting under way, the faculty met to discuss final disciplinary action. By a 50-40 vote it was decided to expel

certain others. Tuesday's demonstration at City

College was one of the greatest demonstrations that ever shook an two thousand students participated

in a two-hour protest strike which papers he embraced the yellow drive, sent us \$8 and says that this sheet Hearst press, and published | is only the beginning. "I am leavculminated in the burning of an efa scholarly fulmination under the ing today for another county on a figy of Dr. Robinson, President of title "Punish Student Reds." His Militant sub drive," he writes, and The strike was called to demand

intensified his unpopularity among little gasoline money, I am going the student body and contributed to the home of every farmer in the owitz's views. National Bureau to the success of Tuesday's strike. section." The strike itself was dramatic, reaching a climax in the burning of a two-headed effigy of the Doctor. On one face Dr. Jekvl Robinson,

garbed in his professorial robes, clutched a True Story magazine, on The 21 students were expelled the other his alter ego, Dr. Hyde for protesting the reception of a Robinson proved to have a suspi-

**Class Struggle Reaches Campus** This campus struggle, which reader of the paper. finds a counterpart in other campus

At that meeting Dr. "Umbrella" an encouraging sign. The campus

Robinson censured the protesting has long been considered a strong-students for their "discourtesy" hold of reaction, where no economic (Come, come, boys, let's all be issues could disturb the benign repose of the scholars. But under Fascist advance, and of imminent \$1.50 for the Minneapolis Organizer war, the straggle is penetrating file. Will see what can be done even into the halls of "learning". here towards getting subs for the With Fascism sweeping Europe, Militant and increasing the fund." with threat of war growing daily the need for a united front of all

groups, including trade unions, The administration, beaded by workers' organizations and students the aforesaid "True Story" Robin- becomes acute. Students can no

son was deeply insulted by the longer stand passively on the side-Vol. 7. No. 47, (Whole No. 251) paper and an arbitration board to "discourteous" behavior of the mil- lines; they must take their stand: SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1934 maintain unbearable working con- itant anti-fascists, and proceeded either with the working class, or

Martin Abern James P. Cannon the 30-HOUR WEEK-and not pro- highly reminiscent of the great C.C.N.Y. have shown the way.

and active union men. They de- was dissolved; suspensions became tion" with Jack Weber as instruc- DANGER YET.

## Is Needed at Once

Thanks to the Minneapolis and Plentywood, Montana branches, this the 21 students, and to suspend issue of the Militant was able to come out without any emergency

Dr. Robinson, the inimitable appeal to the New York comrades. scholar of Spinoza, hastened to the Comrade Boulds of Plentywood, American college campus. Over press. Unable to find sympathy in who is making a special effort to the more "respectable" metropolitan secure subscriptions on the new lapse into yellow journalism only adds: "As soon as I can raise a

Chester K. Johnson of the Minneapolis branch says:

"The Minneapolis branch has bundle account and \$5 for new subs.

Jefferson Rall, of Bryan, Ohio, Leibowitz.) comes back with another dollar on NOW OPERATING IN THE AREA dents of C.C.N.Y. turned out en and to the appropriate strains of his Pledge to help the Militant in and 25c donation from a local

> Doughty of the Los Angeles branch sends by air mail \$3 to help us.

From an S. P. member of Bryan we received a \$1 donation.

the pressure of continued depres- \$5.60 to be applied as follows: \$3 endorses principle of lynching for testers "gutter-snipes". Since that sion, of growing unemployment, of for Militant fund, \$1 for a sub and "guilty". Paterson convicted, Leib-

"Enclosed please find \$5 as my contribution to your appeal in the Militant," signed Max H., sympathizer of Chicago.

Fred B. of Balston Spa sends \$1 'to support the Militant".

.We thank the above mentioned ditions. The silk workers demand to discipline them in a manner with the fascists. The students of comrades and branches for their special efforts, and hope that next week the list will be twice as big. The class in "State and Revolu- THE MILITANT IS NOT OUT OF

SUBSCRIBF TO THE MILITANT. misingly to the harmful state- aware of the conspiracy.

"I do not believe it has ever been the desire of the people of the South to deal unfairly with the Negro. . . . Parsons of sub-

stance in the Southern states have recognized for many generations a moral obligation toward the simple' and generous folk whom slavery first brought them as chattels. . . . I cannot believe that the people of Alabama will be false to their great heritage of honor and to those brave and chivalrous generations of the past in whose blood the history of their State is written."

I.L.D. suppresses this letter and its reply. Tacitly "matches" Leib- scheme was a preposterous fabricaceases to call N.E.C. meetings to he had written the speech. General

it fears to report its violation of the N.E.C. resolution.

launched a sub drive for the Mili- Leibowitz's activities on behalf of that the whole business was a tant and is now going full steam the "ancient shrines" appears in "publicity stunt". (A publicity The Militant. (The Militant alone stunt for whom; J. P. Morgan and warned in advance of the dangers Co.?)

involved in the I.L.D.'s deal with

'Reds'', radicals and mass defense, its present crisis, \$1 on his bundle and declares confidence in "the sincere desire of the good people of salvation from the revolutionary the great South to give every living movement. The plot is interesting

deal".

vood Paterson in Decatur, Ala. revolution becomes a real threat. In open court Leibowitz continues Unless the working class, when it praise of Bourbonism. While af- starts to move, moves steadily and R. of Akron says: "Enclosed find firming defendants' innocence, he forcefully along toward revolution, owitz publicly denounces poor white jurors in the following terms:

They are "lantern-jawed morons . . . whose mouths are slits in their faces, whose eyes pop out at you like a frog's, whose chins droop tobacco juice, bewhiskered and filthy."

Simultaneously, he praises the entire system of Bourbon justice in the person of the trial judge.

... April 7 .- Executive of the National Committee for the Defense esty, or whether his repudiation of Political Prisoners (ally of the I.L.D.) adopts unanimous resolu- for Fascism must remain a moot tion criticizing Leibowitz for his question for the present. General

"to reply concretely and uncompro- were several disinterested persons

## Wall Street Conspiracy

### (Continued from Page 1)

called "unconvincing" by Congressman Dickstein, the chairman of the Committee, who promises further and more interesting revelations.

Trying to Laugh It Off

The various figures implicated in the plot rushed into print the day after the interview broke in a suspiciously universal attempt to laugh it off. J. P. Morgan said the tion. John W. Davis denied that discuss Leibowitz' question because MacArthur called the story the "best laugh of the year". And little MacGuire, following the gen-March 25. - First criticism of eral trend, had the aplomb to claim

The whole idea of a coup d'etat is, of course, preposterous. Fascism Jan 14. — Leibowitz attacks must have mass support. It receives this support from the middle class which sees no hope for its thing on God's green earth a square as a forecast of what will occur in America when the working class March-April - Retrial of Hey- | really awakens, when working class unless the revolutionary party is able to carry through a definite and unequivocal revolutionary policy, the petty bourgeoisie will be distracted, as they were in Germany to the wily toils of fascism.

General Butler will bear watching. The Fascist conspirators made no mistake when they picked him as the ideal leader of a fascist movement in America. Whether General' Butler exposed them for political reasons, hoping to strengthen his own reputation for honwas the result of a sincere distaste reactionary expressions and man- Butler's revelation was, in any euvres, and calling on the I.L.D. case, hardly voluntary, for there