

WORKERS
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UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

VOLUME VII, NO. 20 [WHOLE NO. 224]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

The Johnson Bill and Credits to the U.S.S.R.

The Johnson Bill barring the purchase or sale in this country of bonds or securities of governments in default on their debts to the government of the United States has been interpreted by the Attorney General as including the Soviet Union in the category of defaulters because of the traditional refusal of the Soviet to pay the loans made to the Czarist and Kerensky governments. The ruling will make it difficult for the Soviet to get credits here for the purchase of machinery and necessary materials.

The United States knows it will never get even the better part of the colossal sums its rivals owe it under the head of war debts. To pay them is a sheer impossibility. Roosevelt is trying to put a squeeze on them to get better trade terms, to force down the enormous tariff walls which impede the flow of exports from the U. S.

Purpose of the Loans
With the Soviet Union the question stands somewhat differently. The loans to the Czar were used for the brutal suppression of the workers and peasants. The loans to Kerensky were a mere of the golden flood the U. S. poured into the treasuries of the Allies of whom it considered Russia one, to beat German imperialism to its knees. The Bolsheviks served notice before they came to power that they would repudiate the loans and they kept their word. Moreover against these claims which the United States makes against the Soviet there stands for settlement the costs, insofar as they can be calculated, of the invasion of the territory of the U.S.S.R. by the allied imperialists, including the U. S., the murder of peaceful workers and peasants, the

pillage of crops and livestock, the devastation of cities and towns, the destruction of railroads—the immense havoc wrought by the attempt to satisfy the rapacious hunger of insatiate capitalism for the Soviet market.

The Russian Market
The appetite of the U. S. profit-makers has not decreased with the years. On the contrary, it has grown apace as its difficulties in getting markets multiplied. The crisis has whetted it now to the keenness of a razor-edge. Every market is doubly, triply, ten times as important as it was. Among the markets of the world the land that runs eastward from the Polish border to the Pacific Ocean and southward from the Arctic Circle to China, India, Persia, Turkey and the Black Sea is certainly not the least.

What it can mean to Wall Street which is rising from a sick bed to smite the world can be seen in the Commerce Department's foreign trade figures for March. Exports to the Soviet Union which can absorb—on favorable credit terms according to Litvinov's figures at the London Economic Conference—one billion dollars in machinery, materials and the products of light industry, were less than a million dollars, a little more than one half of one percent of the total export for the month. Compare this with the export to little Cuba, wracked by a social and economic crisis—about four and a half million dollars, four times as much!

Soviet Union Needs Credit
What trade would mean to the Soviet Union should be obvious from Litvinov's figures alone. The

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SECOND STRIKE WAVE UNDER THE N. R. A.

A second powerful strike wave is in the making. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico strikes are now in progress, involving longshoremen, automobile workers, iron ore and copper miners, coal miners, textile workers and many others.

Pitched Battles
In the Alabama strike area Negro and white workers fight together shoulder to shoulder. Pitched battles provoked by company thugs, police and national guards, have resulted in several killings and many injuries. But the casualties were not all on the side of the workers. The governmental authorities are now straining every possibility to raise a red scare. Workers' meetings have been banned and an injunction is issued against picketing. Still the striking ranks are solid against the campaign of suppression, defying the murderous attacks.

Quick work has been made of scabbing everywhere in these strikes by powerful picket lines. In Seattle, Washington longshoremen raided eleven ships and took the scabs ashore. On all of the struck piers teamsters have refused to handle

scab cargo and railroad workers have declined to lend their services. In Butte, Montana teamsters, blacksmiths and electricians joined the copper miners in a solid strike front. In the southwestern bituminous area strikes are spreading and picketing is included in defiance of the militia which has been called to protect scabs.

Two Strike Waves Under NRA
The first strike wave since the inauguration of the New Deal rose to its highest point last September. According to the figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, which are obviously inadequate, there were in that month a total of 180 strikes involving 235,071 workers, with a total number of man days lost of 3,642,431. This strike wave subsided, reaching its lowest point in December last year. But these figures, even at the high point, may be dwarfed in comparison to what is now approaching.

The first strike wave represented

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New Court Battle For Freedom of Mooney

A petition upon behalf of Tom Mooney for a writ of habeas corpus has been filed in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, Southern Division at San Francisco. The counsel filing the petition are Frank P. Walsh, New York City, John F. Finerty, Washington, D.C., and George T. Davis, San Francisco, California.

The basic grounds of the petition are four in number. The first ground is based on the language of the Supreme Court in the Frank case, 237 U. S. 309, where the Court said at pages 327 and 328: "In fact such questions are presented under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment though sometimes discussed as if involving merely the jurisdiction of some court or other tribunal, in a larger and more accurate sense involve the power and authority of the state itself. The prohibition is addressed to the state; if it be violated, it makes no difference in a court of the United States by what agency of the state this is done."

Under this ground the petition alleges that the then District Attorney of San Francisco, Charles Fickert, and his assistants, obtained the conviction of Mooney by the knowing use of perjured testimony, and that the knowing use of such testimony by them as an agency of the state, constituted such misuse and abuse by the State of California of the process and procedure of the trial court, as under color of due process and procedure, in fact and in law to deprive Mooney of his liberty without due process of law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

The remaining three grounds are based on the language of the Supreme Court of the United States in its recent decision in the Scottsboro case, Powell v. Alabama, 237 U. S. 45, where that Court said at page 67:

"The fact that the right involved is of such a character that it cannot be denied without violating those 'fundamental principles of liberty and justice which lie at the base of all our civil and political institutions,' (citing cases) is obviously one of those compelling considerations which must prevail in determining whether it is embraced within the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

It should be understood in connection with this petition that the Attorney General of California, after Mooney's conviction and the discovery of the Oxman perjury, immediately confessed error on Mooney's appeal to the Supreme Court of that State, and asked that Court to set aside the conviction. The Supreme Court of California held, however, that under the Constitution of that State the courts are denied the power to set aside or modify a judgment in a criminal case except for error of law in the proceedings of the trial court, and cannot set aside a conviction because of the subsequent discovery and proof that the evidence upon which the conviction was obtained was perjured.

First Appeal to U. S. Courts
It is the position of Mooney's Counsel that the Federal courts must free Mooney unless those courts are willing to hold that it is consistent with due process of law for the State of California, merely because that State has provided no judicial process by which Mooney can be freed, to continue to imprison Mooney for life after that State has admitted Mooney's conviction was obtained by perjury, and the perjury has been proved.

This application for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States District Court is the first attempt made by counsel for Tom Mooney to present the merits of the Mooney case to the courts of the United States as distinguished from the local California courts.

N.Y. Youth Conference Against War

BULLETIN
In San Francisco a meeting of the representatives of the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Spartacus Youth Club and the Young Communist League is to be held to consider a common demonstration on May 30 against war and Fascism. In other cities the Y.P.S.L. and the S.Y.Cs. are conducting similar activities.

New York City—Last Sunday's conference called by the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism (Stalinist) accepted the proposal of the Youth Committee for the May 30th Demonstration Against War and Fascism for a joint manifestation on Memorial Day. It was agreed that the joint arrangements committees would work out the definite slogans and details of the joint action.

On Tuesday evening, when the two committees were to meet, the Committee of the American League Conference informed the other group that it will be permitted to participate in the arrangements or the details of the demonstration at the meeting of the American League committee. The latter would elect their own chairman, arrange the agenda, etc. This attempt to make it appear that the Stalinist conference was in charge of all arrangements and that other groups may affiliate to it was definitely rejected. It was made clear that what was wanted was a joint meeting. Finally this was granted and a mutually acceptable chairman accepted.

Slogans of the Day
After the discussion of objectives the slogans for the demonstration the following slogans were accepted: Against Imperialist War and Fascism; Protest the Persecution and Murder of the Anti-Fascist Fighters; Against the May 31st N. Y. Naval Maneuvers; Protest the Murder of the Cuban Masses by the Agents of American Imperialism, etc. The Committee for the May 30th Demonstration (Y.P.S.L., S.Y.C., Lovestonites, S.L.L.D., etc.) proposed three additional slogans: For the Release of Thaelman and Torgler; For the Freedom of the Four Deported Young Germans; and Protest the Beatings and Arrests of the Yipsels last May 30 at the Memorial Day march of the American Legion. These three slogans were rejected on the ground that the points were too particular—no names should be mentioned so as to avoid partisanship! This was a not very clever way of avoiding

the issue of the four deported German youth!

The Y.C.L. representative stated that the more general slogan would also imply a protest in this case. It was finally agreed that the disputed slogans would not be the slogans of the entire demonstration but only of those organizations which accepted them.

Point of Conflict
The real point of conflict was again revived in new form: was there to be a joint demonstration in the complete sense of the term, or was one conference to affiliate to the Stalinist conference. While favoring a joint demonstration, the Stalinists insisted on either retaining the name "National Youth Day" or permitting the American League conference to call it such in its literature. The other conference opposed this with the proposal that a mutually acceptable name be adopted, which is not connected with merely one section of the youth movement; that the common leaflet state the fact that the two conferences (by name) were working in a joint committee for the demonstration.

The delegates of the Committee for the May 30th Demonstration stated that a principle question was involved: To accept the name "National Youth Day" would mean joining the Stalinist conference, accepting the so-called traditions of this day (much of which it cannot agree with). To have no common name for the demonstration and permit the Young Communist League and other organizations to call it "National Youth Day" in their literature would create confusion and inevitably lead to a disharmonious demonstration which would nullify the entire purpose of our common action: The display of unity against imperialist war and Fascism.

No Agreement Reached
No agreement was reached on this question. The Y.C.L. announced that its conference would go ahead with the details of its demonstration and if the other conference reversed its decision it could join in the march and demonstration! The Committee for the May 30th Demonstration replied that it was ready to meet with the committee of the American League at an early date if the latter could find its compromise proposal acceptable.

At the time of this writing there is still hope that a common agreement will be reached which can start a new phase in the American labor youth movement; genuine united front action against the common enemy!

Trotsky Remains Without Place of Asylum; Nazi Paper Demands Banishment to Distant Island

Comrade Trotsky is still without a place of asylum. All attempts to secure entrance to another country than France have so far failed. Meanwhile reaction continues its furious campaign of incitement against him. We reprint verbatim below a provocative attack published in the Nazi paper *Deutsche Wochenschau* and republished in the Paris reactionary journal *Le Matin* April 22:

TROTSKY BEHIND THE TROUBLES IN FRANCE
The Old Firebrand Organizes the Insurrection in Western Europe. Secret Headquarters in Paris. The Myth of the Harmless Trotsky.—Extracts from Appeals to Civil War Addressed to German Communists.

Under this headline the *National-Socialist weekly, the Deutsche Wochenschau*, publishes the following interesting article:
Communist propaganda in France, as daily dispatches indicate, finds a more and more favorable ground every day. Everywhere the Communist boldly raises its head, commits carefully prepared acts of violence against right wing elements. Witness the incidents in Paris, Thionville, Henin-Lietard, Lyon. An indisputable Communist danger is rising in Western Europe. Even now, Radek, the strategist of world revolution, rejoices in the *Pravda* on the "favorable perspectives for Communism in France". The foreign press, in the same vein, points out that the "most dangerous factor for unrest in Europe, Leon Trotsky, now residing in France, is one of those who holds the keys of this Communist menace. "We are in receipt of the following astonishing article from our collaborator, Walter Korodi, who has spent a great deal of time in fighting Bolshevism:

When the announcement was made several months ago that the "red butcher" Trotsky alias Leib Bronstein, had received the right of asylum in France and had taken up residence in Royat, the world press asked this question: Why has France which had proscribed to this man the right to set foot on French soil, not to speak of protection, when he made his trip from Marseilles to Copenhagen in November 1932, suddenly considered him as a not inconvenient guest?

Besides Trotsky had once before been expelled from France for Bolshevik activity, in 1916 when he edited the Russian emigrant paper, *Nashe Slovo*, in Paris. Despite that, the hospitable doors of France are opened to this political firebrand, one of the greatest in history, and who certainly has not become less harmful since 1916. What is the clue to this mystery?

This is what it might be: When M. Trotsky arrived in France he made special efforts to impress upon public opinion "that in the same manner that he had abstained from all activity in Prinkipo, where he was located up till then, he would similarly abstain in France. He would really be nothing else than a man retired from all political activity, isolated and devoting himself

to nothing but personal literary endeavors." This attitude, of a seemingly harmless character, found its denial soon after the arrival of Trotsky in Paris. Knowingly, Rosenfeld and his Communist colleagues publicly complimented the French government "for having called to their country the greatest of anti-fascists at the very time when it is necessary to fight the National-Socialist regime in Germany by every means. The exceptional capacities of this man in times of stress will render precious services in these struggles."

In this manner the reasons they receive this vicious opponent of National-Socialist Germany will be explained. This explanation is of prime importance for Germany.

For France the presence of Trotsky is not quite so simple, for this red refugee has revealed himself to be a double-bladed sword. Communist propaganda, to the sorry surprise of the secret police (Surete Generale), has been increased in a considerable and dangerous fashion since the presence of Trotsky in the country. So much so that the French ministers had to hold a secret conference where they examine the Communist question.

The Solitary Writer Seeking Refuge What Was Found in a Neukoelln Barrack

The writer of these lines has had the opportunity to investigate the secret activity of Trotsky and his agents. That took place during one of the actions of the S.A. (Storm troops) against the principal agent of Trotsky in Germany, Anton Grylewicz. On this same occasion they found the names of Bolsheviks situated in other European countries as agents of Trotsky, and all the correspondence of the Trotsky group in Germany, named "Bolshevik-Leninist", was found classified and hidden in a barrack of boards in the colony of barracks, Neukoelln, near Berlin and which belonged to the Communist Grylewicz. It is impossible to give a resume of the documents of Trotsky and Co. which were found, for they consisted of correspondence with nearly all countries. A few examples will suffice to show that Trotsky, even though banished on the Isle of Prinkipo in the Aegean Sea, was never the solitary writer looking for refuge.

His desire to be received in France becomes more understandable with these secret papers of the Neukoelln barrack at hand. They prove, in fact, that in Paris, 45 boulevard de la Villette, the "Administrative Secretariat of the International Left Opposition" is located and another bureau of the Trotsky agents on the rue de Milan. It is from there that the "International Bulletins" are sent to all the countries of the world in the languages of these countries in order to furnish instructions to each group for the Bolshevization of the country where they are located. For example, the American police will be happy to learn that the Trotsky group is located in New York at 126 E. 16th Street under the name of "Communist League

of America". Propaganda for all English speaking countries is issued from here.

Trotsky Undermines Germany!

That goes particularly for Germany, in which Trotsky placed the "greatest hopes" up till March 1933. Unceasingly Trotsky from his place of exile carried on the struggle against the national socialist movement of Germany. And he gives veritable instructions of civil war to his agent Grylewicz. We read for example on page 21 of a pamphlet: "Each factory must become an anti-Fascist center with its own leader. They must possess a map of the Fascist concentrations and other Fascist organizations in each city and in each section". At the end of this text Trotsky arouses the German Communists with this warning: "There is little time left".

Trotsky attaches particular importance to the formation of a common socialist-communist front. In order to measure the seriousness of the civil war actions of the Trotsky agents it is necessary to particularly notice their exchange of letters with the assassin bands of the Berlin commune, called the "sections of house protection". In Grylewicz' home there was found a file of directives for the conduct of these murderous actions. Trotsky himself writes to Grylewicz that "the time has come for the revolutionary group, that is for ours" and he remains "with the best Communist greetings, your Trotsky". In another letter Trotsky fulminates against the "Brown Pest" and says to pass over to attack. The Trotsky group in Hamburg receives a secret circular on this occasion, "instructions concerning the actions of the masses."

After these few extracts on the illegal activity of the great Bolshevik leader, it should be understood why M. Trotsky, in 1929 needed to come to Germany for a cure. Our republicans, Red Front, Reichsbanner intervened very warmly at this time in order to secure for him the right of asylum. And the *Vossische Zeitung* for March 16, 1929 wrote these very emotional lines: "In Istanbul, among rows of books a man waits for weeks, a man who desires a rest. Trotsky wants to come to Germany. And the cry in the entire world: he wants to live in Germany. At bottom this is not a bad advertisement for this country. He appreciates, he says, our physicians. This is not a bad compliment for our science. He believes, he says, in the virtues of our thermal sources, he says: "I am sick, but not to death, only let me meet my German physicians." That M. Trotsky had not renounced the making of the world revolution which he always worked for with the assistance of his agents scattered in every country is proved by the documents cited above. But there are also police reports in numerous European capitals which announced in the past weeks of numerous arrests of Trotsky agents in possession of considerable sums. Let us finish then with the myth of the poor writer Trotsky and let them send this political firebrand into exile on an island of a distant ocean.

The Case of Mr. Dillinger

Our hero shoots another federal man, the federal men kill another brace of innocent bystanders, the mad search goes on—with the result that the newspapers gratefully coin a few more hundred thousands of dollars through their extras and special editions with which they have flooded the streets during the past few months: the Dillinger Period.

Now it is opportune for us to take a look at Dillinger, to examine and interpret this one-man crime wave from the Bolshevik point of view. The bourgeoisie can condemn him, and do, a hundred times a day in their press. And for a very good reason. Mr. Dillinger frightens them; furthermore, they live in mortal terror lest he be apt to steal from them that money which they have in turn squeezed from the hides of the workers. The frantic appeals on the editorial page, urging the whole nation to rise up wrathfully and destroy Mr. Dillinger, are really amusing. He is labeled as Public Enemy Number One, the greatest menace society has known. Help us capture this fiend, you workers, for he may kidnap you or hold you up!

What tripe this is! The workers know full well who the real public enemies are. Compared with a Mellon, a Ford, Rockefeller, Hearst, the lone Dillinger ranks scarcely above the pick-pockets in our modern calendar of saints and sinners. But Dillinger has, up 'til now at least, been working the boulevards and the Gold Coasts rather than the avenues and the slums. The dainty occupants are bawling out their moral indignation. Yes, Dillinger is expropriating the expropriators. But is not this exactly what we hope to do? Let us look a bit further into the matter.

A High Class Bandit

As far as can be ascertained, Dillinger is no run-of-the-mill gangster. That is, Dillinger is not on the same level as the Capones and Maddens, obvious agents of the capitalist class, working hand in glove with the detective agencies, the A. F. of L. unions the larger industrialists, newspapers, judges, chiefs of police, bankers, states at-

torneys, etc. No, we can assume that Dillinger preys directly on the capitalists, that he has never directly exploited the workers by the breaking of a strike, the bombing of a dry cleaning establishment, the railroading of a militant labor leader, or by performing any one of the myriad little tasks by which the ordinary gangsters serve their masters. Dillinger is an enemy of the bourgeoisie.

Should we not, then, take him to our bosoms: "The enemy of our enemy is our friend." This, as a matter of fact, is the actual view that is held by an astounding number of workers and members of the petty bourgeoisie. Everywhere, one hears the weirdest opinions of Dillinger. He is called a Robin Hood, a friend of the oppressed. And nothing could be further from the truth, of course, than envisaging Dillinger as a saviour, a friend of the workers. True, he expropriates the expropriators. But to whose purpose? The working-class, or Mr. Dillinger's own selfish purposes, and those of his henchmen? Dillinger robs the possessing class, but only in order to become a member of that class himself. No worker is a whit better off because Dillinger has tapped the golden stream to the extent of one million.

Flower of Capitalism

To understand the rural community from which Dillinger comes, plus the get-rich-quick philosophy which impregnated America until 1929, is to begin to understand Dillinger; a somewhat unique flower of capitalism, one that could attain growth only in the deadly competition which is everywhere rife in the United States.

In any case, the Dillingers of this age should have no significance for the workers. It is very like the press to devote tens of millions of words to Dillinger, and ignore events involving tens of thousands of people, events such as the various strikes now occurring which are of immeasurably more importance to humanity than are the exploits of a paranoic bandit.

Let the parasites fight off their parasites—it does not lift the heel from our necks.

—CARLOS HUDSON.

Max Shachtman Speaks On AMERICA TODAY Friday, May 18th 8 P.M. IRVING PLAZA HALL 15th Street and Irving Place

Doriot Expelled From French C. P.

Jacques Doriot, a leading member of the French Communist Party, has been expelled, according to dispatches in several New York capitalist newspapers. Doriot, it has been known for some weeks, has been leading a fight in the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on behalf of the Leninist theory and practice of the united front. His expulsion, expected daily, was apparently held up because the bureaucrats of the C. P. feared that the Party rank-and-file would not tolerate such an action.

Record of Doriot

Doriot has for years been a leading figure in official Communist circles. He is one of the founders of the Young Communist International and a leader of the Stalinist youth movement throughout Europe. He has been a leader of the Stalinist fraction in the French Chamber of Deputies, where he once created a sensation by introducing a resolution congratulating the rebellious Abd-el-Krim for his victory over French imperialist arms in Morocco. In addition to being a Deputy, he is today Mayor of Saint-Denis, one of the key working class districts of Paris.

Doriot accepted the Stalinist regime in the Comintern; he denounced Trotsky and his comrades as counter-revolutionaries. No doubt he, like others, waited silently in hopes that the pressure of events would force a turn.

The fatality of such hopes is again clearly demonstrated. No greater pressure of events can be imagined than that which developed in Germany more than a year ago. Fascism made its bid for power, and the German Stalinist Party gave up the battle without a fight. On the heels of this ignoble surrender came the February days of Vienna.

February Events

The events of February were the final stimulus. In various parts of the country, district and section organizations of the Communist and Socialist Parties, reacting to the royalist-patriotic riots, came together in joint actions which, however incomplete and temporary, were unquestionably the first steps toward a genuine united front. Presiding over these joint actions was the spirit of the Internationalist Communist League of France, our comrades-in-arms, the former Left Opposition or "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites". Indeed, the development of such actions was marked by a concurrent rapid rise in the circulation throughout France of *La Verite*, official weekly organ of the League. Nor is it to be overlooked that the "crime" charged to Comrade Trotsky by the French bourgeoisie, for which he is to be deported, is that of sending emissaries to the C. P. and S. P. proposing united defensive action, along Leninist lines.

C. P. Rejects United Front

It is an honor to Doriot that at this point, in a meeting of the C.C., he proposed that the Party take up the united front on a national scale, offering a practical, militant, sincere program of joint struggle to all reformist organizations. Hu-

manite, the Stalinist organ, slandered and abused him, but printed nothing of his remarks in the C. C. meetings. The bureaucrats scurried about trying to isolate him from the Party.

Then the news got out! Doriot was advocating the Leninist united front! He was bringing "Trotskyist ideology" into the ranks of the Stalinist organization! The rumors became less vague. Two weeks ago *La Verite*, brother-organ of the Militant, printed Doriot's speech to the C. C. The French workers had their first opportunity to compare his position with that of the spokesman of the Stalinist clique, an irretrievable bureaucrat named Thorez. This was too much! Expulsion was the sole remedy.

French Workers Begin to Act

Doriot has not delayed as did certain leaders in Germany, until it is too late. The news of his action is laid before the eyes of the whole French working class at a favorable moment. The class has drawn a deep breath, and has begun to act.

The entire Saint-Denis section of the Stalinist Party of France has adopted a resolution supporting Doriot against the Stalinist C. C.!

The significance of this fact is enormous. Saint-Denis, which elects a Communist Mayor and a Communist Deputy; Saint-Denis, one of the proudest boasts of Stalinism in France; Saint-Denis where the very children are brought up on the poison of the "theory" of "Social-Fascism"; Saint-Denis, in organized ranks, flying the banner of Stalinism still, has stepped forward for the united front. The muscled hand of the French working class drops the paper-mache bludgeon with which Stalinism "armed" it, and reaches out to grasp the precise and effective revolutionary instrument which Comrade Trotsky and the League of Internationalist Communists have been forging for it these many years.

Leninist Influence Grows

Whether Doriot will maintain his position and go forward in his fight, or lose heart in the face of the avalanche of slander and terrorism which the Stalinist bureaucrats will now loose against him, cannot be foretold. His first weakness is evidenced, however, in his silent consent to the dastardly physical attacks made by the Stalinists upon members of the French League distributing their organ *La Verite*.

But in any case this much is clear: the ideology of the League is penetrating deeply into the Stalinist Party of France. The proletariat of France, led by that of Saint-Denis, is raising its voice against its misleaders. And because these misleaders will not answer but will seek to strangle that voice, the inner struggle in the Stalinist ranks can mean politically but one thing: the growth in France and internationally of the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the strengthening and deepening of the current flowing toward united class action on immediate questions, the building of new revolutionary parties and a new, the Fourth, International.

Statement of Non-Partisan Labor Defense on German Deportees

(Press Service of Non-Partisan Labor Defense)

An international conference of workers' youth organizations met in Laren, Holland on Feb. 24. It was dissolved by police and all foreign delegates were deported. Four were German political refugees—one a member of the League of Communist Internationalists, three members of the Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei. They were delivered to Hitler's border police. No word has been heard of them since. If still alive, they are surely in grave danger.

Having been informed from abroad of this event, our Committee drew up a protest statement and demand for asylum in Holland for German political refugees. The protest was delivered on April 17 to the Consulate General in New York with a request for forwarding to Holland.

The organizations which signed the statement were: American Workers Party, Communist League of America, Communist Party Opposition, Jewish Workers Party (Poel Zion Left), League for Industrial Democracy, National Unemployed League, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Spartacus Youth Clubs, Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York, Young People's Socialist League of America. In addition, there were signatures by Alex Bail, Editor of *The Workers Age*; Roger Baldwin; James P. Cannon, Editor of *The Militant*; Herman Gund, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union; and Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*.

More signatories could have been obtained had it not been for the need for speedy registration of the protest stressed by European correspondents. It is of interest that in Europe the protest movement embraces liberals (League of the Rights of Man), Social Democratic parties, independent labor parties, the C.P.O., the Communist Internationalists, anarchists and trade unions (Confederation Generale du Travail etc.).

Two organizations approached by our Committee—the Socialist Party and the Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism (chiefly the garment unions) declined to sign the joint protest but sent to the Dutch Ambassador separate protests based on information supplied by our Committee.

The Communist Party U.S.A. ignored our Committee's request for its endorsement of the protest, as did the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, The International Labor Defense expressly refused endorsement. In a letter of April 11, Wm. L. Patterson, its National Secretary, wrote:

"I am afraid . . . our presence . . . would force the withdrawal of Miss Fox (Secretary of the L. I. D.) and others who are inclined toward her point of view."

This letter was received by our Committee April 16. A reply was sent at once, pointing out that the I.L.D. was refusing to support an action "which has deservedly won the support of diverse elements opposed to Fascism, and which is an essential part of the fight against Hitlerism," and that whoever withdraws from the action must bear the responsibility for his attitude. Notice of endorsement by collect telegram was urged.

On April 19 a letter came from Patterson deprecating the need for protest on the ground that the four German deportees "still remain free from jail and torture," and refusing endorsement on the following ground:

"The leadership of the I.L.D. regards you (the Secretary of our Committee) as an enemy of the working class. It regards you as a provocateur, an agent of the enemy, desperately seeking to secure a foothold within the ranks of the working class, in order to better carry on your disruptive tactics. It regards many of those in your united front as of the same character."

On April 25 a letter was sent to Patterson asking the source of his statement that the four deportees

are free from jail. No answer has been received.

Our Committee is informed that the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland have jointly retained Attorney B. J. Stockvis of Amsterdam to go to Germany for information as to the fate of the deportees. He appears not to have obtained any as yet.

We are informed that the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Young Peoples Socialist League and other labor youth organizations plan further joint action in this matter. Our Committee will gladly cooperate in further action, whose need is unquestionable.

We further suggest that all organizations which have not yet come into the protest movement send statements to the Dutch Ambassador or the local Consul. Full information on the case, and copies of the joint protest are available in this office. It should be realized that, whatever the Consul does "officially," he will forward all protests. It is important that there should be many.

The parties which retained Attorney Stockvis for the German trip ask financial aid for his work of investigation and defense. Our Committee will gladly transmit funds to Holland and render an accounting to all contributors.

It is our hope that this protest is only the first of many actions against Fascism and capitalist oppression in which we will be able to cooperate with other organizations.

HERBERT SOLOW, Sec'y.
Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense

Romain Rolland Joins Protest

In response to an appeal addressed to him on behalf of the four German youth delegates to the Laren Conference deported from Holland to Germany, Romain Rolland, famous writer and anti-Fascist, has issued a statement of protest against Dutch government policy. The appeal was addressed to him in the form of a resolution adopted in Paris on March 15 by a mass meeting of working class youth called by the youth organization of the International Communist League of France (Young Bolshevik Leninists), the Socialist Youth, the Socialist Student organization, the anarchist youth and the Pupist youth organization.

"I respond to this call without hesitation," Rolland writes. "It does not matter to me that the delegates who were turned over to Hitler belong to one fraction or another of the Communist Party or (if this be the case) to some other anti-Fascist party. In the struggle against Fascism, I refuse to distinguish among its irreconcilable enemies of whom I am one. We are all allies against Fascism, the common enemy."

"I indignantly condemn the shameful deed of the Dutch police which has made itself an accomplice of Nazi crimes by delivering up to the National Socialist butchers, free men who had sought refuge on the soil of Holland. It is an outrage to the very honor of Holland, which at one time was the country of heroes revolting against despotism, the sacred refuge of freedom."

While the international protest movement on this case thus begins to draw in its train leading examples of middle-class intellectuals long praised by the Communist Party as honest friends of militant working class action, the C. P. itself still refuses to raise its voice on behalf of the four victims of Dutch reactionary policy.

As yet no information has been obtained concerning the fate of the four young workers although an attorney is conducting an investigation in Germany. Friends are asked to write protest letters to local Dutch consuls.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.
JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Organization Notes

The League is undertaking a recruiting campaign to win new members and strengthen itself to function more effectively in the creation of a new revolutionary party. Gains have been made recently which show the vitality of the organization and the growth of its influence.

In far-away Richmond, California, several workers have joined the League and a new branch is in formation. At the Atlantic sea border, in Bangor, Maine, a group of comrades decided, after weighing the position of the various currents in the movement, that their place is in the League. We have found new sympathizers in many parts of the country; but it is important that they should now assume the duties and responsibilities of the organization and become members.

Our contribution to a Leninist united front policy as shown by the New York May Day demonstration, in which we took our place in common action with the Socialist Party and the trade unions, gained for us the respect of serious minded workers and raised new hopes in the possibility of a genuine united front. For us this is only a beginning toward future actions on a similar basis.

On the other hand the increased but futile assaults directed against us by the Stalinist bureaucrats, their attempts to break-up meetings on Shachtman's tour and their physical attack upon our contingent at the Chicago May Day demonstration, shows their way of taking cognizance of the gains we are making. But where they performed their hooligan function at the Shachtman meetings the result was new members added to our ranks.

In the steel city of Waukegan, Ill., a League branch, recently organized, represents one of the first breaks in the Socialist Party. Its active members there, deeply impressed by the European events and disillusioned with the deceptive social reformism of the party to which they then belonged, adopted a Leftward course. The Stalinist party could not attract them. It did not offer them the revolutionary position they sought. They joined the League.

The recruiting powers of the League have been demonstrated by a good many instances. Our branches are preparing to take full advantage of this fact and making arrangements to press the recruiting campaign to result in further strength to the League. This is in harmony with our course to build the new party. Several forces are heading in that direction. The ferment in the Socialist Party promises new forces to be added. The League has entered into the process developing toward the new party and has in fact become its standard bearer. To hasten this process our sympathizers should take the step now and become members of the League.

Truth About Dachau Told by Manchester Guardian

The European public, deeply upset and visibly shaken by the deeds and policies of Hitlerism, has been thrown again into turmoil by recent statements of the German press which describe the notorious and highly successful educational institutions for people with wrong political and social ideas.

Among other well known publications the Manchester Guardian has come back with a slashing attack on Nazi Germany, amply supplemented by a blood-curdling article of one of its German correspondents on conditions in the Bavarian concentration camp Dachau. The Dachau camp is cited by the Nazi papers as the peak of the new Nazi educational system.

The correspondent writes that the camp usually houses 2,200 to 2,400 prisoners, among them approximately fifty intellectuals, sixty rebellious Nazis, five hundred Socialists, two former army officers, fifteen foreigners, and a number of common criminals. The rest are

The League is Growing on the Pacific Coast

Following successful participation in various meetings in Oakland, Berkeley and Richmond by League speakers results of a positive nature have been obtained. New members have been gained. A new headquarters has been established at 1020 Broadway, Oakland. It has a book shop with considerable literature on hand. Militant sales reach a good sized bundle each week. Two study classes testify to the progress made by the League. Our second class consists largely of shop workers from the largest oil, chemical, smelting and auto factories in the East Bay region, all of them young native born workers.

Some of our comrades have done excellent work and are very active in the CWA organizations. Others engage in trade union work in the longshoremen union, among others. But most notable is the accomplishment of a couple of comrades in a nearby lumber camp some time ago.

Headlines appeared three days in succession in all Pacific Coast papers dealing with the demonstrations in Camp Marvedel and "Assorted Lynch Threat." A successful fight had been carried on in the camp for better conditions. During the absence from the camp of the majority of the men, one comrade, who had actively led the organization of committees to carry on this fight, was set upon by two legionnaires and a professional pugilist and was badly beaten. 170 out of the 200 workers on their return to camp forced the expulsion of the three thugs. Material improvements in camp conditions, change in the office personnel and a greater solidarity of the workers clearly brought out the results of the good work done.

In Los Angeles the Stalinist assault upon one of the meetings recently addressed by Comrade Shachtman served as a boomerang to the initiators of these disgraceful methods. Our branch set to work immediately organizing a protest meeting and invited the various workers' organizations to participate, to join in the protest and to defend the right of free speech in the labor movement. Most of the organizations invited responded and sent their representatives, others sent resolutions to the meeting condemning the Stalinist assault. The protest meeting was a real success.

The Los Angeles police appear not at all convinced that there can be any truth in the slanders calling us counter-revolutionists. Their actions show a different opinion. Two of our comrades were arrested for leaflet distribution and got 180 days each. They served five days with the balance of the sentence suspended. But these combined attacks have served to strengthen the branch. Our membership has increased.

Truth About Dachau Told by Manchester Guardian

Communists. Most of the prisoners are workers. They are divided into detachments of 250 to 270 people each; each detachment is divided into five sections.

Detachment No. 7 is the so-called disciplinary detachment which, as its name indicates, is used for incorrigibles. Detachment No. 1 is composed of Social-democratic and Communist workers, Detachment No. 2 of Jews only. The prisoners are housed in ten barracks. Incorrigible prisoners, meaning those who refuse to turn traitors to their cause and give important inside information, are confined to dark, wet and unheated solitary cells. They are wearing heavy chains.

The guards treat the prisoners with utmost brutality. For the slightest reason and often without reason at all they are beaten with heavy leather whips enforced with steel and wire. The usual punishment is 25 to 75 lashes. It is a fixed rule to welcome Socialist and Communist newcomers with a heavy beating. Other instruments are not less liberally employed.

Seven rebellious Hitler storm troopers were so savagely treated by the hands of their former comrades that two of them died. Other prisoners have temporarily lost the use of their limbs or are permanently paralyzed. The Communist Sepp Goetz, was shot in cold blood after a perfunctory examination had proved that the beating had made him an incurable cripple.

More than fifty prisoners have been killed, among them well known labor functionaries and political personalities. The correspondent concludes his tragic report with the remark that he knows the names of nine Nazi guards who are ringleaders and main actors in the unceasing mistreatment of the prisoners.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Amter's United Front with Fascists Like burning handwriting on the wall, the lessons of the catastrophe of the German proletariat stand out, clear for all to behold. For all, that is, but the Stalinists whose eyes are shut tightly to all lessons, who have become impotent to check theory against practice, courses of action against events. There is no limit to the depths of degradation to which such a party can sink. It makes a horrible caricature of every policy and principle of Communism.

The latest brilliant application of Stalinist tactics is Amter's exposition in the *Daily Worker* of the United Front from Below with fascist "rank and file workers". The great leaders and teachers of our movement, faced with the condition of an organized working class divided among reformist and revolutionary organizations, taught the great value of the united front tactic.

Communists utilize the united front established between workers' organizations, to raise the class consciousness of the class and to teach workers in the course of struggle the correctness of revolutionary policy as against the betrayals of reformist policy.

Completing the Cycle of Folly

The Stalinist, failing to grasp even the faintest significance of the united front policy, lost all possibility of acting as a unifying force of the proletariat. Instead the Stalinists deepened the rift between the Social Democratic and the Communist workers, first by denouncing as counter-revolutionary any attempt at the united front; later, driven by events to a treacherous course of covering up rather than examining and admitting its previous criminal blunders, they opposed the Marxist united front with the meaningless united front from below.

This ultimatum tactic of demanding that workers break the discipline of their own organization to secure the blessings of a united struggle with Stalinism entirely under its own banner, this puerile caricature of dialectic thinking, made impossible the struggle against fascism and the achieving of Communist leadership over the wide masses of workers in the course of struggle.

Fascism proceeded in Germany to utilize the lack of proper guidance of the working class organizations and their split ranks to make inroads from above—by winning over petty bourgeois elements threatened with pauperization, fearful of being driven down into the ranks of the proletariat,—and from below—by attracting, thru demagoguery and bribery, sections of the desperate unemployed and the lumpenproletariat. The aid to fascism of treacherous Stalinism was rewarded—by the complete annihilation of the Communist Party!

And now in America it is proposed that the workers pursue exactly the same course! Amter—can it be sheer insane mockery?—proposes to apply the tactic that was intended to unite the workers for militant struggle against fascism, not to the organized workers, but to the organized fascists, the khaki shirts! Finding some demoralized workers, lost forever to any heightening of class consciousness, in the ranks of organized fascism, the Stalinists propose to win them back by applying to the ranks of the worst enemy of the working class the tactic of the united front from below, the same false tactic that tends to drive these elements to fascism to begin with by destroying the unity of the proletariat!

"The cycle of folly is complete!" The Stalinist Party, having lost its moorings, utterly demoralized, becomes incapable of distinguishing between the decisive layers of the working class and the riff-raff of the society.

Petty-Bourgeois Cringing!

By this application of the United front tactic the American C. P. reveals unmistakably its petty bourgeois character. For it is an indelible mark, to the discerning eye, of the same capitulatory tendency that caused the German betrayal. Amter's very tone—lacking completely in ultimatum and denunciation when speaking of the fascists that was characteristic of the approach to socialist workers—betrays a shameful cringing.

"We must not make the mistake," says Amter in the *Daily Worker* for the whole world to read, "that was proposed in the opportunist slogan of some comrades of the German C. P., 'Smash the fascists wherever you meet them' which was rejected by the C.C. of the C.P.G." But it is only by smashing the fascists at the very inception of their movement, only by sectional struggles against every smallest germ of fascism as it shows itself, that the worker, joined in a real united front, learn how to crush fascism in the major battle to come.

—JACK WEBER.

The Real Significance of Rakovsky's Capitulation

(From *La Verite*—Paris.)

The TASS agency communicates for the second time this month about the capitulation of Rakovsky to Stalin.

We are informed from an absolutely authoritative source that matters happened in the following way. In the early part of 1929 the old president of the Council of Peoples Commissars in the Ukraine and the Soviet ambassador to Paris was deported to central Asia, Barnaul, where he remained for more than five years. The OGPU encircled him with an ever tightening grip. During the last two years, his wife who shared his exile was deprived of the possibility of corresponding with her son, a young doctor practicing in Paris.

At the end of 1929 the old revolutionist made a bold attempt to escape and, despite unprecedented surveillance, he succeeded in making his way to the frontier where he was wounded by Soviet guards.

It was at that time that the entire world press wrote of the sickness or even the death of Rakovsky. In reality the wounded man was shipped to the Kremlin hospital. Here, despite careful treatment, a formidable moral pressure was brought to bear on him.

But Rakovsky did not yield. His wound hardly healed, he was sent back to Barnaul and placed under a redoubled guard. . . . Every perspective was completely lost. Shaken by the failure of his supreme attempt, sick, his morale broken, this 61 year old man signed the statement of capitulation. While

Rakovsky remained in Barnaul his friends in the circles called "Trotskyist" did not wish to divulge these facts in order not to cause any harm to the deportee.

Now that the capitulation is consummated these same circles consider it necessary to make known the true significance of Rakovsky's capitulation.

Tomorrow the Soviet authorities will possibly impose upon Rakovsky to issue a denial of these facts. This will not be the first example of such acts by Stalin. But such procedure deceives no one.

Paris, April 19, 1934

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Before the Detroit Convention Of the Socialist Party

The impending collapse of the German Social Democratic Party, shortly before Hitler's appointment to the Chancellorship of the German Republic, was the background to the first decision to hold a world congress in January 1933, of the Labor and Socialist International.

Its sessions did not convene until August 1933, and not because there was a real desire by the leadership of the 2nd International to hold such a world gathering to take inventory of the condition in which this movement found itself.

The congress became the forum for the expression of the diversified views current in the movement. The horrible defeats of the working class acted as the instrument in raising serious doubts in the minds of wide strata of social democratic workers as to the efficacy of social democratic theory and action.

Leading Role of German Party It was a discussion upon these questions the International Bureau feared. It knew that the congress, willy-nilly, had to occupy itself not alone with the German Party and its leadership, but with the entire International.

In order to understand the congress it is necessary to turn briefly to the executive session of the Bureau. In his pamphlet "The Struggle for Revolutionary Socialism", Heinrich Erlich, one of the leaders of the Polish Bund, describes vividly the character of this meeting.

Naturally! An effort was made to discuss only the future without reference to the past. That effort was in no sense realized. The discussion, at the Executive Committee and at the conference centered about Germany. All ideas, plans, criticisms and defenses developed out of that discussion.

Wels Defends Policy in Germany In the Congress Wels changed his attitude entirely. He spoke sharply and vigorously as of old. He admitted nothing and defended everything. We refer to Erlich's description of his speech at the congress:

"This speech was unlike the one he delivered at the Executive. There, he spoke as a broken down man, (!) as one conscious of his

2. The Paris Conference Of the 2nd International

guilt, although without courage to admit it, as one who tries to explain away instead of defending his actions. At the executive session, Wels realized that he was addressing members of the International only.

In his speech at the conference, however, he was surer of himself. He took the offensive. He thought it necessary at this conference to "cast aside the accusations" that the German Social Democracy was not nationalistic enough, that it had not shown sufficient interest in the German nation.

"It was a harrowing speech. Incidentally my gaze fell on the French delegate Marquet (representing the extreme right wing of the French Party, now split from it and forming the Neo-Socialist party in France—A.G.3. With his characteristic smile, he listened to Wels. Marquet himself hasn't too great a belief in internationalism. What a joy it must have been to him to listen to the nationalistic utterances of Wels!"

Graphic enough! The great majority of delegates at the Congress represented the same point of view as Wels presented to them. In a word, International Social Democracy reiterated its policy of reformism, coalition governments, the theory of the "lesser evil", extreme nationalism, and a whole series of downright reactionary policies that were given expression by other delegates.

The report of Wels on the German situation more or less marked off the sides in the conference. Out of the report there naturally arose a discussion on the policies pursued there, and breaking beyond the confines of Germany, took up the whole course of the International. There were three points on the Congress agenda: (1) The struggle for power; (2) The struggle against war; and (3) The unity of the working class.

Polish Bund Leads Fight The victories of Fascism forced the Congress to consider, under the discussion of the first point on the agenda, the validity of the policy of reform. The Polish Bund led the fight against the old point of view and presented the new position that is becoming current with the numerous left groupings in the Socialist movement.

That view calls for an end of the policy of reform and states that the only possible means for a victory against capitalism lies through the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of "the dictatorship of the revolutionary party (!) during the period of Socialist construction" This position, however, was by no means the dominant one. Reformism is all powerful in the 2nd International.

Listen to the speech of the Danish Delegate, Andersen, who declared at the conference that: "It would be very unfortunate if the workers as a result of our discussions, would gather the impression that recent events compel us to seek new ways (!) and new methods (!) for carrying on our struggle. I should like to warn against the statements made here to the effect that the German events mean the end and bankruptcy of reformism. It is one of those slogans that result in dangerous illusions and leads to dangerous generalizations."

Vogt, the delegate from Sweden, voiced similar sentiments: "If the International wants to succeed it must openly and unequivocally state, regardless of all theories destined for the far distant future, that we defend democracy, the freedom of nations. We do not want a proletarian dictatorship. We want to preserve the democratic institutions. . . Let us discuss the conquest of power, but let us talk less about how to go about making revolutions. When the International will appeal to the League of Nations for peace and freedom, for the struggle against war, for the defense of democracy, its purpose will be clear."

ly understood, and its power will be manifest."

The conference discussed all three points on the agenda as one. There were no limits to the subjects argued at one time, and the discussion drifted in such a manner. The majority resolution of the conference did not, as the minority claims, fail to give definite statements on their position. The resolution reiterated the position of reformism. It did so on all questions. There was one slight change. The resolution declared that in those countries where fascism was in power it would be necessary to employ "revolutionary means" to bring about its overthrow. But by no means should the working class employ revolutionary means in the "democratic" countries!

Right Wing Dominates Congress

So much did the Right Wing dominate the Congress that even the weak-kneed efforts of Bauer to state simple truths failed of their purpose. Thus the following clause was stricken from the original draft of the resolution: "The German democracy of the future will either be Socialist or not come into existence. In the Fascist countries the goal of the revolutionary struggles must not be the return to bourgeois democracy but the conquest of Socialist Democracy" Criticisms of the League of Nations were stricken out. Affirmation of disarmament conferences as a means of preventing war was included. The Right wing insisted upon the deletion of the following: "The International will oppose by all its means any aggression against the Soviet Union. It denounces once more the banditry of Japanese imperialism against the Chinese revolution and the menace which Japan is creating on the Eastern frontier of Russia. It denounces the pitiable failure of the policies of the League of Nations in the presence of these dangers."

The "Marxist" Bauer, who then sharply criticized the German Social Democracy, only to prepare the same fate for the Austrian proletariat, withdrew everytime the Right Wing made its demand. The majority resolution in its accepted form, continued to endorse social democratic policy as we have known it to be: rejection of the revolutionary struggle for power, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet system, and reiterated its reformist policy. Just as Stalinism has not learned a single lesson from the events of the past years, the Labor and Socialist International similarly prepares continuation of a course that has brought disaster to the international working class. By its assertion of the class collaborationist policy, pursued now for more than a decade, and the promise to continue a nationalist course, there is not the slightest hope in this organization.

Resolution of Polish Bund

Contrasted to this was the resolution presented by the Polish Bund and supported in all by 18 of 300 delegates. This resolution represented the left current at the Congress. As pointed out previously, it was inevitable that any serious conflict on fundamental questions within the Socialist movement had to revolve around the question of the state and the struggle for power. This is the point of departure of the Bund resolution.

It says for example: "The German events condemn at one and the same time the failure of the Communist policy of division. (It should read Stalinist—A.G.) and the reformist policy of Socialism". Further: "The Conference declares that it is not the task of the Socialist parties to attempt to straighten out the capitalist world or even to collaborate in such attempts. It declares on the contrary that by whatever means (!) they are going to achieve power they must not secure the exercise of power within the structure of the capitalist regime but must utilize power in order to destroy the bourgeois state and install the dictatorship of the revolutionary party (not the proletariat—A.G.) during the period of Socialist construction."

Again: "It is evident that the working class will defend energetically its democratic achievements against all reactionary attempts but the struggle against Fascism cannot have as its goal the maintenance or re-establishment of bourgeois democracy which is based on economic inequality but that of constructing a real Socialist democracy. . . It is necessary that the working class begins to prepare at once for a struggle by all the means (!) which may secure victory". Asserting the need to struggle against the crisis, to work out plans to win the middle class, expressing lack of confidence in the League of Nations, the Disarmament Conference, the Economic Conference, and concluding that only the working class alone can struggle against Fascism, War and the crisis, the resolution ends. The resolution was signed by two Bund, two French, two Italian, one Estonian, one Belgian and four Amer-

ican delegates. Six additional votes were registered for it in the Congress. Thus almost the entire Congress of 300 delegates supported the reactionary right wing.

Left Wing Confuses Issues

It is clear that in August 1933, the lines of difference in the L.S.I. were first beginning as a result of the German events. They were destined to grow sharper and clearer. But then, there was still a great deal of confusion. The Polish Bund always represented the 2 1/2 International tendency and it needed only the German situation to force it into the open once more and reaffirm a position it has had for some time. Even so, the "left wing" resolution is marked by confusion, and by a failure to draw correct lessons from their analysis. The bulk of the congress and that includes the largest and most influential parties in the L.S.I. asserts the policy that has been pursued by Social Democracy for many years, the policy that led to heavy sacrifices and defeats of the world proletariat.

Since the time the congress was held new events have served to increase the discussion in the Social Democratic movement on the fundamental policies followed by it.

The growth of Fascism reached a new height in its victory over Social Democracy in Austria. The armed struggle of the Austrian workers, who fought in defense, at a time when it was too late, has provoked new doubts in the minds of many social democratic workers. The decisions of the Congress in August 1933, when social democracy, following the defeat in Germany, reaffirmed the defense of bourgeois democracy, and declined to adopt a policy of revolutionary struggle for power with the aim of destroying the capitalist state and substituting for it the proletarian, received another blow in Austria. The continued rise of Fascism in every European country forces to a head the disputes over fundamental questions revolving around the fate of society and the working class. Thousands of social democratic workers are receiving new and practical instructions in the character of the state, democracy and the struggle for power. They are learning, and rapidly, too, that reformism has tied their hands and made them easy victims of capitalist oppression. The leftward movements in the 2nd International are therefore to be sought in the events of the last year and a half.

Left Tendencies Grow

Since August, the left tendencies have grown throughout the L.S.I. The Polish Socialist Party accepted a resolution at its congress endorsing "a proletarian dictatorship of workers and peasants". Left tendencies and groupings exist in almost every party in the International. The Spanish youth organization has declared itself for the Fourth International. The youth organizations of Poland, Belgium, France and the United States also move rapidly to the left on a number of very important questions. In Paris, the Right wing dominated completely. Undoubtedly if a congress were held now, there would be a different relation of forces.

The Polish Bund, we said above, did not really move toward the left. It reaffirmed, in reality a position it has had for some time. While it demands a break with reformism, it does not lend to clarity. It is confused on the questions of the struggle for power and the proletarian state. It deliberately confuses Stalinism with Bolshevism, as do all neo-Marxists. That is why it speaks against both, Communism (!) and Social Reformism. And in its place? It demands "Revolutionary Socialism", "Marxian Socialism". But Revolutionary Socialism, Marxian Socialism, is the quintessence of Bolshevism. The fundamentals of Marxism are contained in the decisions of the early congresses of the Communist International.

It is not as if we are beginning anew. The revolutionary movement has already passed through the war years. It has already experienced the betrayal of social democracy when it came to the support of imperialist capitalism with the outbreak of the war, up to the present day. And the "left wing" today has not expressed a single new thought. It has expressed only half truths and confusion. One does not need to investigate (!) the different ways and means to take power. Revolutionary means (!) in Fascist countries and the old ways in democratic countries can only prepare more defeats for the working class. You must say very openly and clearly that the road to power lies through the armed assault of the working class upon the whole structure of capitalism, to transform the social order. It means the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, which serves as the transitional power of the working class, in the erection of the classless society. This is fundamental. There is no other way!

And so it is with a whole series of questions: the Soviet system, the struggle in the trade unions, against the crisis, against war, the liberation of the colonial peoples, etc. We do not demand that the left

A Critical Analysis of the American Workers Party

Editor's Note—The following is the first of a series of articles contributed to the discussion of the movement for a new party by Felix Morrow.

To all who look upon the building of a new revolutionary party and International as the primary task today, the evolution of the American Workers Party is of serious import. For here is a group, of undoubted seriousness of purpose, almost all of whom have come from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action with some training in mass work, and who have come out as a revolutionary organization. No one could seriously have expected, of course, that such a group, with no experience in party life and thought, and so new to the revolutionary road, should overnight develop revolutionary clarity; Bolsheviks are certainly not made at such short notice. Serious gaps in the political equipment of the A.W.P. were to be expected. The important question is whether, after a period of amorphous evolution, the American Workers Party will take to the road for a new party and international.

Three closely related tendencies stand between the A.W.P. and the new road. I shall summarize these tendencies, including the form they take in the Program of the A.W.P., and then suggest the latest light thrown on them, by the A.W.P. public lecture-conferences in New York on April 14, 15, 21, 22.

The Past of the A.W.P.

The A.W.P. is proud of its "origin in action" in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. While there is much that is useful in this past, it is also a reformist past. The sharpest theoretical clarity is necessary to distinguish between the useful heritage and its reformist nature. A break with this reformist past is necessary. In view of the A.W.P.'s proud boasts about its origins, and its insufficiently critical analysis of its past reformism (see Chapter IV of the Program), one is constrained to say that the A.W.P. stands more in danger of reformist hangovers than it is of losing any useful elements of its past. A glance at its history will make this clear enough.

Beginning, in 1929, as an organization of trade-union progressives, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action won a certain amount of success, due to the fact that the Communist Party had launched itself on its dual unionism, while the Socialist Party had long capitulated to the A. F. of L. leadership. Politically, the C.P.L.A. was reformist; in advocating independent political action for labor, it was little further advanced than the unions which in 1924 declared for La Follette. Even when it began evolving more militant trade union policies, building rank and file organizations, and branched out into the unemployed movement, the C.P.L.A. remained definitely reformist in politics. Nor was there further clarity in the declaration of the September, 1932 convention which made the C.P.L.A. into a political organization, for the criticism of the Socialist and Communist parties was limited to their mass work, and in no way was linked up with political fundamentals. Its declaration that it aimed "to abolish, not to reform, the capitalist system", was only repeated the other day by the right-wing Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. For the C.P.L.A., the concrete meaning of the phrase appeared to be, not evolution toward a revolutionary workers party, but a reformist Farmer-Labor party.

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wing groupings in the 2nd International at once accept a full communist program. We do point out, however, that when the Polish Bund declares at the Paris Congress that the working class must seek new ways and break with "Communism and reformism", that it lends to confusion and not clarity.

Perspectives of the Fight

As the struggle develops, naturally, a greater clarity will be achieved. For the moment however, the struggle is still in its early stages. The numerous groups that exist all over the world, will begin to find their centers. There will be a great deal of back-sliding, no doubt. But the genuine left wing movement will also find its center and its path.

Such is the background to the present situation in the Socialist International and in the American party. The pressure of events is driving great sections of the socialist workers to the left. The moods of these workers drives many leaders to the left—some genuinely, the majority, as experience has shown, only to head off a real break with the past and to decapitate the movement.

Out of the Paris conference, the groupings and tendencies have be-

1. The Political Evolution Of the C.P.L.A.

The year after the 1932 convention the leaders of the C.P.L.A. were in the Farmer-Labor Federation. Presumably that was their idea, then, of the way to "abolish" capitalism.

December Conference

Then came the Roosevelt program of "planned" capitalism, with its repercussions in the labor movement. It deflated the right wing in the Socialist Party—for Roosevelt's was their program. The militants, Muste's former allies, now began to come to the fore, talking like so many "Mustelites" about militancy in the labor unions and unemployed work, reaching the workers, etc. As their strength grew, the militants did not fail to point out that if militancy was desired, the way to get it was to win the S. P., as they were doing, not to set up one's own sect. The necessity of distinguishing themselves from the Socialists in more significant terms than militancy became apparent in the C.P.L.A. Nor could leftward-moving centrists close their eyes any longer to the essentially reformist character of farmer-laborism. In December, 1933 the C.P.L.A. convention decided to build the American Workers Party. All C.P.L.A. members automatically became members of the A.W.P.

At no time—including the 1933 convention resolutions—had the C.P.L.A. made the decisive distinctions between reform and revolution. Throughout this period the case against the Socialist and Communist parties had never been put in political terms; always the quarrel on the level of day-to-day work. Not until the Program of the A.W.P., published early in 1934 (written with the assistance of revolutionary intellectuals with no C.P.L.A. background) does there begin the first criticisms of the Socialist Party in terms of its reformism, and even here the talk is mainly of its mass work (see Chapters III and IV). It is true, as Sidney Hook says, that the theory of the state is the touchstone of a party's nature; it is true that the Program (plus further statements by A.W.P. leaders) approaches the Marxist theory of the state (though it contains omissions and ambiguities—role of Soviets before taking power, armed insurrection, the ambiguous formula of workers' democracy substituted for the Marxist formula, dictatorship of the proletariat).

Further Analysis Needed

There must be a period of thorough theoretical discussion and analysis, in order to see whether the rest of the Program, and particularly what the A.W.P. brings over from the C.P.L.A., is actually in consonance with Marxism. The mere presence of the class theory of the state does not guarantee the rest, certainly not when the introduction of the theory of the state is of so recent origin. No revolutionary but is gratified that the A.W.P. leaders who were a year ago preparing to build a Farmer-Labor Federation now are speaking in revolutionary terms; but such a volte-face reveals a gross empiricism which must be overcome by theoretical discussion and training. Clear formulation of fundamental principles is a necessity at this point. By all means let us be "flexible" in the application of our principles. But let us first have principles to be flexible about.

In the light of what has been said, one of the most disturbing aspects of the A.W.P. conferences

come more active and seek one common level on the basis of a clarification of the issues involved. True revolutionaries will seek to help these left groupings and tendencies to find the proper road. The Bolshevik-Leninists will endeavor to help in the education of the workers. It will be necessary to demonstrate to them, that upon the basis of the struggles they are engaged in, only one possible outcome exists. Either a complete break with reformism and the 2nd International or else capitulation to it. On the basis of such a break, it will be impossible for these workers to go to Stalinism, which deserves the same fate as reformism. These forces now in the Socialist International must participate in the movement to reorganize the ranks of the international proletariat. In other words it must participate in the construction of the Fourth International.

The general background of the groupings in the American Socialist Party lies in the International Congress. On the basis of an understanding of the situation in the International, which grew out of world-shaping events, we shall be able to understand the situation in the American Party.

ALBERT GLOTZER.

were the many examples of contempt for theory or minimizing of the role of theory. There is no subtler way of blurring the distinction between reform and revolution than by shying away from fundamental theoretical discussion. In reformist parties, centrists express their discontent by talking action; the militants in the S. P. exemplify this mood. In revolutionary parties or parties gravitating to a revolutionary position, centrists pool-pool "too much theoretical discussion", or by emphasis on events or mass action denigrate the role of theory and party. At the conferences, the most ambitious, and the most revealing example of this was J. B. S. Hardman's discussion of the Russian Revolution.

The Role of the Party

Hardman built up a picture of the Bolshevik party playing no decisive role in the revolution: "Only the minority (of the Central Committee) carried out the insurrection: the majority was against it." "For a quarter of a century the Russian workingclass did things rather than discuss. Fortunately nearly all its leaders had nothing to do with the revolution. Most of them were emigrants, and at the crucial moment the leaders were in Finland". He held out as most significant the gap between Russian feudal government and its growing capitalist industry, contrasting it with the close nexus between industry and government in America. Thus, said Hardman, our problem in America is very different than the Russian. (He could say this, of course, only by ignoring the gap in America between industry and government on the one hand and the productive forces on the other.) So, said Hardman, the Russian Revolution gives "at best only certain lessons" (unspecified). By making what were actually strategy and purposeful action carried through by the Bolshevik party, into blind history, Hardman is able to dismiss as peculiar and local events which were actually the resultants of fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy. That Hardman did not boldly enunciate which fundamental principles he dismisses—this is also typical of centrist ambiguity; Hardman is simply reserving in advance "the right" to differ, whenever a fundamental issue becomes crucial. A keen observer once put Hardman's case aptly. "He's trying to make a philosophy out of commonplaces: don't be dogmatic, be realistic, let's be sensible, etc. etc." Everything is there, in fact, except a theoretical foundation.

"Too Much Better"

The conferences supplied other illuminating examples. Answering the charge that the A.W.P. was in danger of all the pitfalls of the gross empiricism characteristic of the whole history of the American labor movement, V. F. Calverton said: "The Socialist Labor Party shows what too much theory can lead to. Its theory is so perfect, it can't move." It was a good joke and got the laughs—but revealed a true Philistine's attitude toward theory, as if to say, "A little of it is all right in its place. But—". Walter Edwin Peck evidenced the centrist's fearful hate for theory: "Radicals have been analysing the world as they saw it, but they had metaphysics on their mind. We have been trying to sell the workers Hegel and Saint Karl. What was the power of the I.W.W.? Because it didn't sell workers any philosophy". Then, most innocently, Peck went on to say that the I.W.W. "was killed by prosperity". He could scarcely be expected to understand that this meant they had no adequate philosophy!

George Schuyler even embarrassed his own comrades with the assertion: "Marx hasn't got anything to do with the U. S. We don't have to borrow any European philosophy".

Not every spokesman of the A.W.P. so denigrates theory, of course; but so do they do in the face of this tendency which has to be fought as uncompromisingly as outright reformism? So far as I could see, all they do is grin embarrassedly when their comrades make asses of themselves.

—FELIX MORROW.

THE MILITANT
 Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
 Published Weekly by the Communist League of America
 126 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y.
 Phone: Gramercy 6-9524
 Vol. VII, No. 20, (Whole No. 224)
 SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1934
 EDITORIAL BOARD
 Martin Abern James P. Cannon
 Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
 Arne Swaback
 Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year; \$0.50 per half year — Canada and Foreign; \$1.50 per year; 75c for six months.
 Bundle rates one cent per copy.

EDITORIAL

Needed Now: A New Defence Organization

ONE of the most promising developments in recent days has been the activity displayed by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the hearty acclaim which has greeted its initiative in numerous circles of the progressive labor movement.

There is both a reason and a necessity for these manifestations. With the fearful examples of Europe before them, with the terrible threat of war and fascist reaction menacing the world, the need of solidarity in action becomes ever more imperious.

A significant aspect of the Provisional Committee is the presence in its composition of a number of people who in the past have been prominently identified with the work of defense organizations in administrative, publicity and executive capacities.

This confidence has been further reinforced by the efficient handling of the Bellucci case and the protest movement for the four young German Communists who were handed over to the Hitler police by the Dutch authorities.

It is high time. The strangulation of the I.L.D. by the Stalinist adventurers has long since passed

the point where the possibility of reforming this organization could be seriously debated among working class militants whose eyes are open and whose heads are in working order.

In our opinion the new organization should not represent a system of committees but a solid organization based on individual members assembled into permanent branches; labor organizations of every kind, sympathetic to the aims and purposes of the movement, should be affiliated collectively.

The composition of the new organization, in its leading bodies as well as in its branches, ought to represent a coalition of all the honest, progressive and militant forces, in the labor movement and sympathetic to it, who are willing and able to cooperate loyally in the fight against reactionary persecution.

Much depends on it. An honest defense organization, conscientiously carrying out in practice the policy of the united front, will be a support to the labor movement as a whole and a star of hope to the individual victims of reaction.

Let us hope that the near future will see the consummation of the program of the Provisional Committee and the definite launching of a new organization for non-partisan labor defense.

Toward the National Workers' Alliance in Spain

(Editorial in "La Antorcha," new fortnightly organ of the Spanish Communist League—Bolshevik-Leninists—May 1st, 1934)

Catalonia gave the signal and it resounded with an echo of clamorous enthusiasm throughout the country. The idea of the united front was translated into a hope-inspiring reality, the Catalan Workers Alliance became the first step towards the formation of the proletarian block, towards the united action of all working class political and trade union organizations, in order to withstand the ever-increasing Fascist menace.

The Catalan pact contained at least one virtue: that of instilling into the Spanish proletariat confidence of its own strength, of overcoming the momentary discomfiture that might result from the electoral victory of the rightists.

The example of Catalonia was immediately followed by Valencia. The Catalan Alliance demonstrated its vitality on the 13th of February, declaring a general strike, which, while it is true that it failed in Barcelona due to the period of transition through which the working class movement is passing, was carried through successfully in over forty towns throughout the region.

For the moment only these two Alliances exist on a regional scale; but very shortly, the united front will be a beautiful reality in Asturias, and in the rest of the country it has already been established in many cities and towns and is in process of formation in many others.

The lesson to be drawn from these experiences is that the cause of the united front is definitely won, in the sense that it counts on the adhesion of the immense majority of the workers. The stupid sabotage of the Stalinists who, with a consistency worthy a better cause, fulfill their fundamental mission of

throwing obstacles into the path of the revolutionary movement, and the stubborn sectarianism of the leaders of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) which is surprisingly close to the anti-Marxist ultimatum of the official communists, do not substantially alter the reality of the general adhesion of the workers to the Workers Alliance movement.

But it is necessary to build this movement, it must be organized rapidly and without losing a single minute, if we wish it to render the enormous potential efficiency contained in it. And the first step in this direction—and which may be decisive—is the constitution of the Workers Alliance on a national scale.

For a National Conference In the Regional Conference to take place in a few days, the Workers Alliance of Catalonia will take the initiative of calling a National Conference. No moment could be more opportune for this step.

Barcelonia, April 22, 1934.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Mike Gold the Mathematical Wizard At last the secret is out. A great mystery to all readers of the Daily Worker since the start of the 3rd period has been: What system of mathematics is used in estimating the numbers in the T.U.U.L. unions, mass meetings, parades, etc., and also who are the mathematical Ponzis in charge?

Mike Gold is one of the experts and a new Stalinist form of Geometric Progression is the system—all carried on under the general slogan "Down with Social Fascist Facts." Writing on the Union Square May Day demonstration, Mike cried for a Shakespeare as the only one capable of doing justice to it.

At this point, overwhelmed by the impensity of the Stalinist movement in New York, Mike says, "Let's not labor the point." But why not? Let us look at it again. The average family in New York consists of four persons. Multiply the million by four and we have 4,000,000.

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Politicians and Their Price Senator Warren T. Thayer, the State Senator who never made a speech but who had great influence on the Senate, is being investigated. While chairman of the Senate Public Service Committee he was also on the payroll of the Associated Gas and Electric Co., and in this capacity was instrumental in killing numerous bills, which in one way or another would have interfered with the privileges of the Utility Company.

One bill, providing for the safety of workers engaged in the repair and construction of high voltage electric lines, did not come to his committee but to the Assembly Labor and Industry Committee. However the worthy Senator wrote the Associated Gas and Electric that they could depend on him to kill it.

electric lines, did not come to his committee but to the Assembly Labor and Industry Committee. However the worthy Senator wrote the Associated Gas and Electric that they could depend on him to kill it.

We Are Challenged The series of Sunday night lectures on the Fourth International by Comrade Cannon at the Irving Plaza hall, are attended by capacity crowds who stay until almost midnight to discuss the questions of War, Trades Unions, Fascism and the New International. Though the great majority of the audience have been won for the Fourth International, there are however, representatives of practically all tendencies in the movement present who hotly question the position put forward by Comrade Cannon and advance their own.

At the last lecture a member of Section Two of the New York Stalinist Party challenged Comrade Cannon to debate with a representative of his Party. On Cannon's statement that he would be glad to accept the challenge, the C. P. member announced that he would go back to the Party and demand that the debate be held.

American Traditions—A Fable Breaking completely with all alien and international "jabberwocky" movements and traditions a group of professors in the "America for Americans" Party have delved into early history and dug up the story of what may have been the first American Revolutionist.

This was no immigrant of the Cervantes might do justice to Don Browder and Sancho Minor. But for estimating parades, meetings, etc., you can't beat Baron Mike and the rest of the Munchausen family who form the present Daily Worker staff.

Unfortunately the revolt was not successful and Ajajyaybee was beheaded, cooked and eaten at midnight sometime following the last ice age. Honoring the memory of this hero, and in order to strengthen the purely American tradition, the "America for Americans Party" are holding a midnight supper at the Knuff-Kollez Cafe.

The Johnson Bill and Credits to the U.S.S.R.

Militant has discussed the question many times. Here let us note from Litvinov's figures to what extent the Soviet Union's dependence on the world market has grown with its economic successes and what demands on the market its further progress makes necessary.

Why doesn't the Soviet Union buy more, the U.S. export more? The Soviet Union has explained again and again that it will buy plentifully up to the hilt, if it gets favorable credit terms.

Until now the United States has discouraged trade with the Soviet Union. Its policy was motivated by fear of the October Revolution and the hope of preventing its growth economically and consequently in the military sphere as well, by withholding from it what it required most—machinery.

Now the American imperialists are vitally concerned with the Far Eastern market. In the Soviet Union's strength they see a check to Japan. They are not averse to lend a cautious hand in strengthening the Soviet Union a little—on their terms.

Pressure on Soviet Union Trade and credits are the subject of the discussions taking place in Moscow now between Bullitt and

Soviet officials. The ruling of the Attorney General is to put pressure on the Soviet Union. It is an act of aggression characteristic of the Litvinov's figures to what extent the Soviet Union's dependence on the world market has grown with its economic successes and what demands on the market its further progress makes necessary.

What the U. S. demands, what the Soviet Union offers we do not know. The discussions are taking place according to the best rules of Stalinist-capitalist diplomacy—in the dark. No word has leaked out. That is what fills us with misgiving.

Five years ago the internationalist Communists proposed to the Comintern that it mobilize the masses of the capitalist countries to bring pressure on the capitalist governments to grant the credits, by this means to assist the Russian workers in building up the economy of the country and to relieve their own situation through the employment trade with Russia would create.

Today the C. I. which has no real existence cannot mobilize the masses for a revolutionary struggle to assist the Soviet Union. The Marxists must do it without and against the C. I. That is the duty of the League and all those working class organizations which really mean to defend the Soviet Union, and especially of those which declare for the revolution internationally and in the U. S.

Dance and Entertainment SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1934, 8 P.M. at 130 East 107th Street Admission 10c

Crime and Economics

Starving Men Steal

In Buffalo, New York, a young unemployed worker is shot dead for taking a loaf of bread. In Chicago, three Negro workers are killed for participating in a protest demonstration against eviction.

As the depression deepens it is evident that the crime wave grows in intensity. Even a cursory examination of the latest criminal statistics will disclose the fact that the vast majority of crimes are petty crimes against property.

Petty crime, then, has a class basis. It arises from the worker's fight for life. It is on a different class basis than is gangsterism, for instance, which arises from bourgeois greed (in Chicago, for just one example, where has been traced the connecting links binding together the gangsters, Capone, Madden, O'Donnell, Durkin, etc.; the Pinkerton and Burns Detective Agency; the A. F. of L. trades unions, Tim Murphy and other leaders; the International Harvester Company, the Chicago Tribune and other manufacturers and newspapers; the judges, chiefs of police, aldermen, bankers, such as Melvin Traylor, Insull, city corporation counsels such as Ettleson, state's attorneys, etc.)

A survey of penal justice in the United States, and the penal code as it is functioning today, enables one to draw some interesting conclusions. Let us look at the following statistics, which indicate how crime increases in direct proportion as the proletariat becomes increasingly impoverished.

Isn't it obvious that our American school of criminology, with its cruel sentences, its fantastic jails and jollars, its unrealistic outlook, has not been able to lessen crime. On the contrary, America has arrived at a morass of vice which increases yearly with frightening speed. The stark truth is, of course, that nothing can ever be done to combat crime so long as capitalism reigns; for as capitalism cannot guarantee that no one will starve, it can not

reach the basis of crime. The swampy soil of crime is the economic poverty of the masses which leads to their intellectual and moral poverty. Abolish want and starvation and you strike directly at the roots of 90% of the crimes that are committed daily.

In 1932 and 1933 the following Part I offences were known to the police of this country:

Table with 4 columns: Year, Robbery, Burglary, Larceny auto theft. Rows for 1932 and 1933.

The Economic Factor in Crime Figures for previous years are not even available, or have been suppressed, such is the quixotic manner in which our government treats its criminal problem. But enough is indicated for us to see that the overwhelming majority of crimes are crimes against property.

Yes, the economic factor is the all-important one in these crimes. And do you doubt that this same factor counts powerfully in the cases of non-negligent and negligent manslaughter, in rape; and in the execution of minor offences, such as boot-legging, dope-peddling, etc.?

Crimes of violence against persons ... 2,000 Sexual crimes ... 3,400

Crimes against property

Table with 4 columns: Year, Robbery, Burglary, Larceny auto theft. Rows for 1932 and 1933.

More Criminals—Bigger Jails In New York City crimes against property have definitely increased during the depression. The living standard of the worker has been pushed lower and lower.

All Great Britain can think of to combat crime is to "impose longer and more plentiful sentences to penal servitude."

—CARLOS HUDSON. (Second Article NEXT WEEK)

Second Strike Wave Under the NRA

In the main the efforts of the unions to enforce the provisions of the NRA. Now the situation is different. A great deal of disillusionment with the NRA has set in. Simultaneously the pressure of an ever rising cost of living, mounting more rapidly than any of the few wage increases, sets the workers into motion.

Index figures from the same source quoted above inform us that in the 89 industries covered by its survey employment rose in March, 1934 to 81 percent, with the same month a year ago showing 59 percent (1923-25 equals 100). On the same scale the payroll increased from 37 to 65. The actual per capita earnings of the workers is supposed to have increased 15 percent in this period, according to the same source of information, while the cost of all food commodities increased 20 percent and clothing 25 percent.

New York Organization Notes

The recent period has been distinguished by an intense activity of the Communist League in New York, and a campaign to bring forth the program for the building of the new party of the Fourth International.

Issue is Organization Still this tells only part of the story. The main issue in the present strikes is the struggle for organization and the struggle against the company union monster.

This agreement legalized the company union. It attempted to sweep into the discard all that organized labor had previously gained. The big corporations, stiffened by this direct encouragement decided to make an end to any further union advance and began to apply the iron hand and discriminate against union members left and right.

Militancy, turbulent clashes with the forces of the capitalist government and increased hostility to the NRA—these are the outstanding features in this present strike wave. It centers entirely around the A. F. of L., the so-called revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. being in evidence only in the statements they issue from their paper organizations.

Fourth International which brought out an audience of about 500. This lecture was so well received that we proceeded to arrange a whole series of lectures covering the primary burning issues confronting the working class today.

The next lecture in the series will deal with the United Front and the Fourth International to take place this coming Sunday evening, May 20th, at the Irving Plaza Hall.

In protest against the hounding of Comrade Leon Trotsky by the reactionary French government, and the refusal of asylum to the leader of the October Revolution by the capitalist world, the New York Local of the Communist League arranged a mass meeting which was held at the large hall at Irving Plaza on April 22nd.

Twelve New Members in One Week All these activities did not remain without any organizational results. Only within the last week twelve comrades applied for membership into the organization.